Waziristan Tribes Report

1900

REPORT ON WAZIRISTAN AND ITS TRIBES.

THE report is divided into five sections, namely :—

SECTION I.—General account of Waziristan, its tribes and of matters affecting more than one tribe.

SECTION II.—The Mahsuds.

SECTION III.—The Darwesh Khels.

SECTION IV.—The Dauris.

SECTION V.—The Bhittannis.

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Each section is divided into chapters.

Section I.—General account of Waziristan, its tribes and of matters affecting more than one tribe is divided into the following chapters :—

Chapter I.—General and descriptive account of Waziristan.

Chapter II.—Necessity for the opening of the trade routes of the Gomal and Tochi and for the extension of closer relations over the tribes inhabiting the country along these routes.

Chapter III.—Claims of the Amir of Kabul to Waziristan, his intrigues with its tribes, his acknowledgment of the British supremacy in Waziristan and demarcation of his frontier touching Waziristan.

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Chapter V.—Leading Mullahs of Waziristan.

Section II.—The Mahsuds :—

Chapter I.—Geographical and descriptive account of the Mahsud country.

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SECTION I.

General account of Waziristan and its tribes, and of matters affecting more than one tribe.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF WAZIRISTAN.

Boundaries.

1. Waziristan, as at present known, extends from Thal in Miranzai in the north to the Gomal Pass in the south. It is bounded on the north by the Kurram Valley and Khost, on the west by the Durand boundary line from Charkhil to Domandi which separates it from Birmal and the country of the Kharotis and Suleiman Khels, on the south by the Gomal river which divides it from the Zhob District and by the Largha Shirani country, and on the east by the Kurram river and the districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

The country lines in the north latitude from 32° to 33° 22′ and in the east longitude from 69° 20′ to 70° 36′.

Tribes in Waziristan.

2. The country as described above is inhabited mainly by the Darwesh Khel, Mahsud, Dauri and Bhittanni tribes. The first two are called Wazirs, having been descended from the same ancestor, while the last two tribes, though Pathan in origin, come from different stocks and are not included in the term *Wazirs*. There are settlements of other tribes also in Waziristan, such as Dotanis, Suleiman Khels, Kharsins, Gurbuz and Saidgis, but there is no necessity to give a detailed account of them. The Suleiman Khels reside in our jurisdiction in Waziristan in the cold weather months only, while the Mianis inhabit the tract to the south of the Gomal Pass and north of the Largha Shirani country up to Kashmir Kar hill in the hot weather only. We have made no separate settlements with the Dotanis, Kharsins or Saidgis. The Dotanis settled in Wana and Spin were included in the arrangements made with the Ahmadzais of Wana, while the Kharsins and Saidgis were treated in respect of our arrangements as part and parcel of the Darwesh Khels of the Tochi.

Wazirs.

3. The Wazirs are descended from Wazir, son of one Suleiman. Wazir had two sons, namely, (1) Khizri and (2) Lali. Khizri had three sons, namely, (1) Musa, (2) Mahmud and (3) Mubarak. Musa was called 'Darwesh' from his religious character, and is the father of the Darwesh Khel tribe. He had two sons, Utman and Ahmad, from whom are descended the Utmanzai and Ahmadzai branches of the Darwesh Khel tribe. Mahmud had a son called Mahsud, from whom are descended the Mahsud tribe. Mubarak had a son Gurbuz, from whom are descended the Gurbuz Wazirs. The Gurbuz Wazirs as a tribe live between the Tochi and Khost Valleys along a part of the Durand boundary line and are subjects of the Amir of Kabul. A few families of this tribe have settled in the Tochi Pass, and there are some small settlements on the southern slopes of Mazdak. These portions of the tribe are within the jurisdiction of British Government.

Administrative division of Waziristan.

4. For the purpose of administration Waziristan is divided into two districts, called Northern Waziristan and Southern Waziristan, each being under the charge of a Political Officer. For brevity's sake the Political Officers, Northern and Southern Waziristan, will in this report be termed the Political Officer, Tochi, and Political Officer, Wana, respectively.

Northern Waziristan includes the country of the Dauris, hill Darwesh Khels and hill Bhittannis of the Bannu border. The last tribe, however, is under the charge of the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu. Southern Waziristan comprises the country of the Mahsuds, Darwesh Khels of Wana, Shakai and Badar, Mianis of the Kashmir Kar Valley and the hill Bhittannis of the Dera Ismail Khan border, all of whom are under the

charge of the Political Officer, Wana. Before and until 1895 the tribes in Northern Waziristan were under the political control of the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu, while those in Southern Waziristan were under the political control of the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan. After the extension of a closer control over the Waziristan tribes resulting in the occupation of Wana with troops and the opening of the Tochi Valley in 1895 it became necessary to place in charge of the two districts of Waziristan separate special officers of sufficiently high position and standing in the service. The work in Waziristan increased so much and became so difficult and important that it could no longer be conducted or closely controlled from the district head-quarters at Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. The Political Officers were, therefore, given discretionary powers to a certain extent and placed directly under the authority of the Commissioner. The Political Officers occupy almost the same status as Deputy Commissioners of revenue districts. An officer, if a member of the Punjab Commission, when officiating as Deputy Commissioner, 3rd Grade, usually draws Rs. 1,266 per mensem, including Pashtu allowance, but the pay of the Political Officers was fixed at Rs. 1,400 with the Pashtu allowance of Rs. 100 in addition. The Government in fixing the rate of pay of Political Officers explained that the additional remuneration proposed for Political Officers was necessary to remunerate them for the special work and responsibility which would fall on them and to allow the Local Government to retain officers in the post for some years as would be desirable. It was further provided that when any officer of the Commission junior to a Political Officer was drawing more than Rs. 1,233 per mensem, the pay of an Assistant Commissioner, 2nd Grade, officiating as Deputy Commissioner, 3rd Grade, the Political Officer shall receive the same pay in addition to the local allowance of Rs. 100 per mensem and the Pasthu allowance of similar amount.

CHAPTER II.

NECESSITY FOR THE OPENING OF THE TRADE ROUTES OF THE GOMAL AND TOCHI AND FOR THE EXTENSION OF CLOSER RELATIONS OVER THE TRIBES INHABITING THE COUNTRY ALONG THOSE ROUTES.

Necessity for opening the Gomal and Tochi Passes.

5. In 1885 the Defence Committee, appointed to consider the defences of the North-West Frontier of India, recommended, among other measures, the occupation of the Gomal Pass by a strong fortified work, the connection by road of that work with Dera Ismail Khan, and the exploration of the Gomal Pass. This recommendation was agreed to by Her Majesty's Government. The measure, however, was not carried out at once for several weighty reasons, among which were the difficulty of furnishing a suitable escort and the desire not to arouse the hostility of the tribes. Some other measures, such as the formation of a defensible cantonment at Loralai in the Bori Valley, were carried out and were considered to have rendered the proposed detached work in the Gomal less important. There were some other difficulties, and the Government of India proposed to defer action with regard to the Gomal Pass for the time being, but the Secretary of State in reply to the report sent to him to the above effect drew attention again to the importance of the pass, and stated that he thought that as soon as practicable the Gomal Pass should be properly surveyed in view to a site for defensive work being fixed on and when this was done the work should be undertaken without delay. On this the Punjab Government was asked to devote its immediate attention to the question, in order that all the necessary arrangements might be completed in time to admit of the work being undertaken in the autumn of 1887 as soon as the season should permit.

Views of Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief of India, on the necessity for the opening of the Gomal and Tochi Passes.

6. Sir Frederick Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India, writes as follows in June 1887 regarding the survey of the Gomal :—

"Since the original idea of exploration was put forward the plan of defence for the North-West Frontier which was under consideration has been greatly modified. The purely defensive work proposed for the purpose of closing the passes had been relinquished in favour of the completion of our communication within our own border and the opening of the routes which pass through the belt of independent tribal territory immediately adjoining the frontier and directly to the principal strategic points in Afghanistan. The necessity for uniting offensive action with our defensive plan has in fact been acknowledged."

Sir Frederick Roberts did not confine himself to the opening of the Gomal Pass, but went further and advocated the opening of the Tochi Pass as well, remarking that—

"There are strong reasons for a fresh departure in our policy towards the frontier tribes, in order that when the time for a formal movement arrives they may identify themselves with us and assist us not only with supplies and transport but by sharing in the maintenance of our lines of communication. It is hoped that the exploration which is desired to undertake in the coming autumn may not be regarded as a hostile movement by

any of the tribesmen, but that it may afford opportunity for establishing with them closer relations than have hitherto existed between them and our own districts in the Derajat, as well as of arranging a permanent plan for their keeping open the Gomal and Tochi Passes under a system somewhat similar to that which is in force for preservation of the route through the Khaibar.

"Hitherto we have been content to remain in ignorance and to leave undisturbed the barrier which they have opposed to free movement, but the prospect of our being again called upon to march troops through the Amir's territory makes it of the very greatest importance that we should have complete knowledge of every route leading from the Indus to Afghanistan proper, and that we should secure the good-will of tribesmen in order that when an advance is ordered we may be certain of their assistance."

The views of the Government of India on the necessity for the opening of the Gomal and Tochi Passes, and the methodof effecting our object.

7. The Government of India describes the necessity of opening the Gomal and Tochi Passes in their letter No. 1633 F., dated the 17th August 1887, an extract from which is quoted below :—

"On the other hand, it appears to the Government of India that the time has arrived when it becomes of extreme importance that an effort be made to bring under our control and if possible to organize for purposes of defence against external aggression the great belt of independent tribal territory which lies along our North-Western Frontier and which has hitherto been allowed to remain a formidable barrier against ourselves. It is essential that, in the event of complications in Afghanistan, the main routes through this territory should be in our hands, and it seems desirable to do all we can in time of peace to prepare for such a result. The opening up of the country can only be effected in two ways, either by the use of military force or by endeavouring to draw the tribes into close and friendly relations with ourselves. The first course would involve a great expenditure of men and means, and is in all respects to be deprecated. The second, although it presents many difficulties, seems to offer a fair prospect of success, and as at present advised the Government of India consider that it is well worth a trial. They would therefore propose to make a systematic effort in this direction, and on all accounts it seems desirable to begin by inducing the tribes to keep open under the supervision of British officers such important routes as the Gomal and Tochi. By raising paid bodies of armed men for the protection of such routes we enlist in our favour the interests of the tribes concerned and familiarise them with the presence of our officers in their midst, and it is to be hoped that from the beginning thus made a general improvement in our relations with them may before long result."

Opening of the Gomal Pass route carried out in 1890.

8. At first an attempt was made to open the Gomal Pass route by tribal arrangements without the assistance of troops, but it failed.

Ultimately it was decided in 1889 that advantage should be taken of the tour, which Sir Robert Sandeman, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, was then about to make in the Mando Khel country, to come to an arrangement with the Mahsuds and Ahmadzai Darwesh Khels of Wana for the opening of the Gomal Pass. Accordingly Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, accompanied Sir Robert Sandeman through his tour, and on arrival at Appozai concluded under the orders of Sir Robert Sandeman the necessary arrangements with the tribesmen for the pacification of the Gomal Pass.

Opening of the Tochi Pass route.

9. After the successful opening of the Gomal Pass in the beginning of 1890 proposals were submitted for the opening of the Tochi Pass, but no active measures were taken until after the Amir of Kabul relinquished all claims on Waziristan and its tribes by a formal agreement executed in November 1893.

The necessity for maintaining the Gomal and Tochi Pass routes ceases to exist from a military point of view.

10. The Gomal is an old trade route between India and Afghanistan and is largely used by the Powindahs. The trade through the Tochi has considerably increased of late, but it has been now decided that these routes from a military point of view are of little use.

CHAPTER III.

Claims of the Amir of Kabul to Waziristan, his intrigues with its tribes, his acknowledgment of the British supremacy in Waziristan, and demarcation of his frontier touching Waziristan.

Claims of the Amir to Waziristan and his intrigues.

11. A short time after the opening of the Gomal Pass the Amir of Kabul made an effort to extend his influence over the tribes of Waziristan. These tribes have never owned allegiance to any king, but the Amirs of Kabul, as Muhammadan rulers, have always been trying to

extend their influence on them, though unsuccessfully. In Feburary 1892 the Amir of Kabul sent a party of khassadars (Afghan levies) to Gul Kach on the Gomal, and began to endeavour to bring under his control the mixed clans occupying Wana, Spin, Gul Kach and other places within the sphere of British political control or influence. About the middle of May 1892 he sent an Agent, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, with 100 Cavalry and 100 Infantry to Wana. His arrival there had a disturbing effect on all sections of the Wazirs, especially as the Amir's Agent urged Darwesh Khels, Mahsuds and Bhittannis to break off relations with the British Government and to surrender their country to the Amir. The Amir about this time wrote a letter to the Government of India in which he preferred a claim to Waziristan. But the Government of India took the opportunity and informed him in July 1892 that they could not admit his claim to any part of Waziristan. They had always dealt directly with the Waziri tribes and must continue to do so. He was warned in the clearest terms that the British Government would not tolerate any further advance on the part of Afghan officials pending a decision of question of the settlement of the Amir's frontier, which was then under consideration. The details given in the chapter relating to our relations with the Mahsuds will show how far the intrigues operated in disturbing the minds of the tribesmen and in encouraging the commission of offences against Government. Suffice it to mention here that his Agents were withdrawn from Wana and the Mahsud country, but they continued to foster intrigues with the Darwesh Khels of Wana, the Mahsuds, the Dauris and the Darwesh Khels of Tochi until a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the Government cf India, went to Kabul to settle the question of the boundary of the Amir's territory in October 1893.

Waziristan acknowledged by the Amir of Kabul to lie within the side of British Government.

12. After necessary negotiations an agreement was come to at Kabul on the 12th November 1893, between His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies, on the one part, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, representing the Government of India, on the other part, by which the whole of Waziristan, together with certain other tracts which the Amir formerly claimed as part of the Afghanistan territory, was acknowledged as falling to the side of the British Government. The agreement so far as it affects the partition of what is called the "sphere of influence" between the two Governments is quoted below :—

"Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of India are desirous of settling these questions by a friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respectives pheres of influence, so that for the further there may be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follows :—

"(1) The eastern and southern frontier of His Highness' dominions from Wakham to the Persian border shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.

"(2) The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

"(3) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand that he will at no time exercise interference in' Swat, Bajour or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgul Valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Daur. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh.

"(4) The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated, whenever this may be practicable and desirable, by joint British and Afghan Commissioners, whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

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"(6) The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and a satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier, and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail, such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments."

Arrangements for demarcation of boundary.

13. In accordance with the settlement made by Sir Mortimer Durand with the Amir in November 1893 arrangements were commenced early in 1894 for the demarcation of the boundary between Afghan territory and Waziristan. The boundary line as laid down in paragraph 4 of the agreement was to be laid on the ground in detail by joint British and Afghan Commissioners. The Amir was informed in April 1894 that in order to avoid any risk of trouble among the Wazirs it would be necessary to place a considerable force upon the Waziri frontier while the demarcation was being carried out—probably a force of the strength of one brigade would be placed in or near Spin Valley, and the actual escort to accompany the British Commissioner would consist of 400 men. The Amir was invited to send an escort of similar strength with the Afghan Commissioner and to place a certain reserve of troops on his side of the border. A proposal was made to His Highness the Amir that the demarcation should commence towards the end of October after the heat of the weather had mitigated. The Amir agreed to the time proposed for the commencement of the delimitation, and asked that when the British Commissioner started for the delimitation work he might be informed, in order that he might issue orders to his officer to go with the necessary troops and join the British Commissioner at Domandi.

Formal proclamation issued to Wazirs and others affected, of the settlement arrived at with the Amir, of the demarcation of the boundary line, and of the Government policy towards tribesmen.

14. A proclamation was issued in August 1894 to the tribesmen informing them that the Government of India had concluded a settlement with the Amir and a line of boundary dividing Waziristan from the Afghan dominions had been agreed upon, which would be laid on the ground by joint Commissioners of the British and Afghan Governments. The proclamation runs as follows :—

"Whereas the question of the line of frontier has been finally decided between the Amir and the British Government, the delimitation of the boundary has thus been fixed by the two powers :—

The line of delimitation commences from the Charkiagarh Hill and passing across the Tochi at Pachagari follows the crest of the hills which lie between the Barmal and Shawal Valleys—leaving Birmal within the Afghan boundary—up to Khwaja Khedar and from the latter to near Shakin which will remain within the Afghan boundary. From Shakin the line runs due south to the crest of the range crossed by the Nazan Kotal to a place six miles to the south of the Kotal. Thence it follows the Spira Range to Domandi which lies on the bank of the Gomal River. It is therefore notified that in October next the British and Afghan Commissioners will commence to demarcate the line as above explained Meanwhile the British Government desires that the tribes concerned should respect the line of delimitation, and that they should know that this Government has no intention of interfering in matters connected with their internal affairs, but only desires the establishment of peace, and it is expected therefore that the tribes will cordially cooperate in these objects."

Appointment of British Commissioner.

15. Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., then Commissioner of the Derajat, was appointed British Commissioner to demarcate the boundary between Waziristan and the Afghan dominions. He was accompanied by Mr. L. W. King, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mr. H. A. Anderson, Deputy Commissioner, Bannu.

Strength of military escort to accompany the Delimitation Commission.

16. The strength of the military escort to accompany the Delimitation Commission was fixed at—

Three regiments of Infantry.

One squadron of Cavalry.

One battery of Artillery.

Two companies of Sahpers and Miners.

Moreover, a reserve brigade of the strength of the brigade which was fixed to accompany the Commissioner was ordered to remain ready at Dera Ismail Khan to be used in the event of a necessity arising. Colonel A. H. Turner, C.B., Indian Staff Corps, was appointed to command the escort with the rank of Brigader-General.

The Delimitation Commission left Tank on the 15th October 1894 for Wana.

17. The British Commissioner arrived at Tank and left for Khajuri Kach on the 15th October, with the last detachment of the escort which was sent to Khajuri Kach in three detachments. Here at Khajuri Kach he interviewed a large and representative jirga of the Ahmadzais of Wana, and after receiving a petition from the jirga asking for the permanent location of troops in their country and to establish peace there, he proceeded on the 18th October to Wana, where he arrived on the 25th idem. In the meanwhile the agitation set on foot by Mullah Powindah, who aimed at becoming the spiritual leader of the Mahsuds, came to a head, and the excitement which spread through and deeply stirred the tribe resulted in the attack made by the Mahsuds on the escort of the Delimitation Commission on the morning of the 3rd November 1894.

18. On the Amir being asked to send an official as his Commissioner to join Mr. Bruce in the work of delimitation he replied that—"Inasmuch as the British Commissioner is defining the division of the boundary in accordance with the agreement made, and as it is certain that agreeably to Your Excellency's instructions he will never deviate from what is laid down in that map, therefore there is no necessity for the presence of an Afghan frontier officer in Wano, but this much is requisite that when Mr. Bruce lays down the boundary pillars on the mountains of Wano, and fixes the limits of the two Governments in accordance with the said map, he should call before him the Maliks and influential men of those parts who are connected with the God-granted Government (of Afghanistan) and make them thoroughly understand the boundaries of their territory, so that they may properly know the limits of their own and those of the British Government."

The Amir waives his right to send an Afghan Commissioner to accompany the British Commissioner in the work of delimitation of boundary.

19. In consequence of the attack made by the Mahsuds on the 3rd of November on the escort of the Delimitation Commission, the delimitation proceedings were necessarily for a time interrupted. Certain terms were offered to the Mahsuds by way of punishment for the attack on the Delimitation Camp. Those they failed to comply with within the time allotted, and a punitive expedition was therefore sent under General Sir William Lockhart, who also assumed the political charge of all the operations in Waziristan. After punishment was meted out to the Mahsuds, the delimitation of the southern portion from Domandi on the junction of the Gomal and Kundar to Khwaja Khidar was carried out by Mr. L. W. King under the orders of General Sir William Lockhart. In the same way the delimitation of the portion from Charkhiagarh to Khwaja Khidar and again from Charkhiagarh to Laram on the Tochi side was carried out by Mr. H. A. Anderson partly under the orders of the General and partly under the direct control of the Government of India.

Interruption in the work of delimitation in consequence of the attack made on the Delimitation Commission, and the carrying out of the delimitation under the orders of Sir William Lockhart after the Mahsud Expedition.

The boundary has been marked by the construction of boundary pillars and was laid in three sections:—

(1) From Domandi to Khwaja Khidar.

(2) From Charkhel to Khwaja Khidar.

(3) From Charkhel to Laram.

The boundary pillars of each section have been marked with Roman numerals from I onward, carved on a slate built into the pillar or on the solid rock in the base of the pillar. The exact line of the boundary and the position of the pillars are fully described in the following extracts which are quoted *in extenso* from the report of the Delimitation Officers:—

(1) "Starting from the junction of the rivers Kundar and Gomal, the boundary line runs in a northerly direction to the cliff immediately above the Gomal, where pillar No. 1 is situated. Thence following the left bank of the Gomal (thus including the Domandi encamping-ground) for a distance of 1·65 miles it goes to boundary pillar No. 2, which is built on the edge of the cliff immediately above the junction of the Warsakh Khulla with the Gomal. From this point the line proceeds along the left bank of the Warsakh ravine to boundary pillar No. 3, which is situated on a rocky knoll at the south end of the Warsakh Ridge at a distance of 1 mile from the last pillar. Thence the line follows the crest of the Warsakh Ridge to its highest peak (a very conspicuous feature in the landscape) on which is boundary pillar No. 4. Hence it crosses to boundary pillar No. 5 (Tamunkai) situated on a high rocky ridge on the crest of the Spera Range, which it follows to boundary pillar No. 6, which is situated on a high peak known as Adu Kamar and in a straight line onwards to boundary pillar No 7 immediately above the Sundak Narai. At No. 7 the central range, which has hitherto been the watershed, ends abruptly, and the boundary then crosses the Sundak Kotal due east to boundary pillar No. 8, which is about half mile distant and situated on the outer or eastern range. Thence it runs down the crest to a saddle, over which a well-defined path leads from Zarmelan to Zowar. Here is boundar pillar No. 9. From this point the boundary follows the eastern ridge to boundary pillar No 10 (a distance of 2½ miles) which is situated on the Manzalai Peak. From boundary pillar No. 10 the line proceeds straight along the crest of the range (here a single well-defined ridge) for a distance of about 1½ miles to the Punga Peak on which is boundary pillar No. 11, and thence northwards to No. 12, which is at the end of the Spailuta crags overlooking Urghar. Hence it makes a short bend of 300 yards north-north-east to boundary pillar No. 13 on the crest of the main range, which it follows to boundary pillar No. 14 on the summit of the Khand Kotal. From boundary pillar No. 14 the line runs northwards along the crest of the main range to boundary pillar No. 15, situated on a high peak known as the Gwazha. It then continues to boundary pillar No. 16 on the north side of the Punga Kotal, where it turns north-east to No. 17, which is on a craggy peak overlooking the Bahmai plain.

Demarcation of Section I from Domandi on the junction of the Gomal and Kundar to Khwaja Khidar.

Thence it proceeds northwards along the crest of the range to boundary pillar No. 18 on the Wuchsar Peak. From this point the line runs along the ridge to No. 19, about ¼ mile north of the Sanbazah Kotal, and thence in a straight line through No. 20 on the Rangaluta Peak to boundary pillar No. 21, which is immediately above the Suratizha Kotal. Thence it passes along the crest of the range to boundary pillar No. 22 (Maulai Kamar) and on to No. 23, which is on the highest peak of the Spera Range (9,300 feet). Here the range turns slightly to the north-east towards the Nazan Kotal. The boundary at this point (4 miles from the Kotal) leaves the Spera Range and runs a little west of north direct to boundary pillar No. 24, which is situated on the highest peak of a low ridge known as Sara Manza. From this point several low ranges diverge, but the boundary follows the crest of the outer one through boundary pillar No. XXIV-A to boundary pillar No. XXIV B, which is situated on a small peak overlooking the Dargai Kanz Kotal, where the Shakin road branches off from that to Chenai. The line then crosses to boundary pillar No. XXV on the crest of the low outer ridge overlooking the plateau, which slopes away to Shakin and passes on to boundary pillar No. XXVI at the end of this ridge and about quarter of a mile west of Chenai. Boundary pillar No. XXV is 2 miles east of Shakin and is the point where the boundary approaches most closely to that place and whence it turns north-north-east. From boundary pillar No. XXVI the boundary crosses the Chenai stream and runs in a straight line across a plateau to a low but conspicuous hill called 'Tsar Ghundai,' about 1½ miles north of the Chenai spring (which is included within the British boundary), and thence in a straight line across a series of small spurs of the Zeooh Mountain to Pushkina, a conspicuous isolated hill (about a mile north of the Zindawar stream), on the central and highest knoll of which boundary pillar No XXVIII is situated. From this point the boundary turns eastwards along a well-defined ridge to boundary pillar No. XXIX, which is situated on a hill overlooking the Zorand stream. Thence it runs straight to boundary pillar No XXX at the foot of Khwaja Khider and on to boundary pillar No. XXXI which is situated on the summit of that mountain (10,000 feet)."

(2) "The first pillar is situated on the south-west corner of the highest point of Char Khel named Khar Kamar. The trignometrical point shown on the survey maps as Charkhiagarh is identical with Khar Kamar. From the first pillar the boundary runs south-west for 2⅝ miles to a peak of the Char Khel Range named Saraghara, on which is constructed pillar No. 2. Thence in the same direction it runs 3 miles to Tir Khoni Sir, a sharp peak rising above and to the south west of the Mir Chappar Valley, on which pillar No. 3 is erected. From here it runs due south 2½ miles to thefoot of the spur immediately over the Alwara plain named Zwara China, and on this is erected No. 4 pillar. From this point the line crosses the Alwara plain to a prominent peak named Inzawari, about 1 mile to the south of the Alwara plain, and on this is erected pillar No. 5. Pillar No. 6 is erected 2 miles south on a hill just west of the Stagai Pass and a mile north of Lug Killa village on the Mastoi river. From here the line runs south-east to a hill named Sirkai Yowar, ½ mile above the junction of the Mastoi and Tochi rivers at Dotoi, and in such a way as to include the Machai villages and cultivation on both banks of the Mastoi. Pillar No 7 has been erected on Sirkai Yowar. From here the line bends westwards for 4¾ miles to boundary pillar No. 8, which is on a knoll above the Kam Maramuli Ghasha, just north of the Tochi river, and about half mile west of the village of Taki, the most westerly of the Machai (Madda Khel) villages. The nearest Paipally Kabul Khel village is about the same distance to the west of the pillar. The Machai villages and cultivation lying along the Tochi from pillar No. 7 to pillar No 8 are included within the British boundary From here the line runs south west for 1¾ miles crossing the Tochi river to boundary pillar No. 9 on the crest of the range, dividing Birmal from the Gorwekht Valley. Thence it runs along the crest of the range 4½ miles to boundary pillar No. 10 which was erected on a lofty peak named Maraghina Sir and continues south-west for 1¼ miles to boundary pillar No. 11 erected on Ziyaratgai. Thence the boundary turns sharply south-east and still follows the Birmal watershed 2½ miles to boundary pillar No. 12, just south of the Sargzuma Narai. It continues still south-east 2½ miles further to Spinkai, (pillar No. 13) a high peak at the head of the Gorwekht and Zowe Valleys. Here it bends south-west, still following the watershed for 1¾ miles to boundary pillar No. 14, which is on a high peak 1 mile north-west of the Narai leading from the Zowe to Mang-oti. From boundary pillar No. 14 it runs a little east of south for 2¼ miles to boundary pillar No. 15 situated on Kund, the culminating point of a high ridge dividing the Zowe Valley from the Shawal Valley. From here it follows the watershed of Shawal and Birmal and runs generally in a south-west direction for 4½ miles to boundary pillar No 16 on the Alijowaya Range It continues along a well-marked watershed to Khwaja Khider, which is situated 3½ miles to the south-west."

Demarcation of Section II from Char Khel to Khawaja Khidar.

(3) "The first pillar on this portion of the boundary is the same as No. 1 pillar of the Char Khel-Khwaja Khider portion of the boundary. It is built on the highest peak of Char Khel named Khar Kamar. Starting from this pillar the boundary runs north-east to boundary pillar No. 2 along the spur dividing the Spalgin from the Dadan Valley, a distance of 2 miles. Boundary pillar No. 2 is situated on a peak named Almanz Kane, ½ mile east of Spalgin Narai, which divides the Jadran Valley of Spalgin from the Madda Khel Valley

Demarcation of Section III from Char Khel to Laram.

of Surtoi. From pillar No. 2 the boundary runs eastward along the crest of the watershed between the Khost and Tochi Valleys, and pillar No. 3 is 1¾ miles distant on the point locally known as Zalmi Taghika Sir. From pillar No. 3 the boundary continues along the watershed. Pillar No. 4 is 2¼ miles distant from No. 3. The watershed here makes a slight bend to the south-eastward; and as the crest here is somewhat broad and undefined, pillars No. 5 and 6 have been constructed on adjoining peaks of Tsargai Zita at close intervals to mark it more precisely. The boundary from pillar No. 6 runs up the crest for 1¼ miles to a well-defined peak named Kam Kai Manah on which pillar No 7 has been constructed. Thence the boundary runs eastward to pillar No. 8 constructed on a peak named Mastakki Ghundai which is ½ mile west of the Zaghar Narai. From here the boundary continues eastward for 2 miles to boundary pillar No 9, built on the peak on the western slope of Mazdak mountain for ½ mile to boundary pillar No. 10, which is constructed on the highest peak of Mazdak, named Mamon Punja. This pillar stands just south of a prominent clump of trees which crowns the summit From thence the boundary continues north-east to another high wooded peak named Birzal, 2¼ miles distant, on which pillar No. 11 is erected Thence the boundary runs slightly north of east still along the watershed to boundary pillar No. 12, erected on Zowar Pul Sir, and continues in the same direction for 2½ miles to Pillar No. 13 on a well-marked rocky peak named Psarlai. Here the well-defined ridge along which the watershed has hitherto run breaks off abruptly. From this point to Laram a belt of low rounded hills unconnected by any clearly defined ridge and with no well-marked peaks forms the physical boundary between the Khost Valley and the valley of the Tochi. On the other hand, some 4 miles to the southward of the watershed and conspicuous from the Tochi plain, is a series of prominent points connected by well defined ridges, which, though broken through by the drainage from the north in three places, forms on the whole a much more satisfactory natural boundary than the actual watershed. For this reason, and for other reasons, which need not be detailed here, we adopted this boundary. From No. 13 the boundary line follows for 2¾ miles south-east a well-marked ridge, and pillar No. 14 is erected on a large clearing named Khawji Draghanni Mela on the ridge. From this point it continues along the ridge to a very conspicuous rocky peak named Warghari Sir, on which pillar No. 15 is erected Thence the line runs for 2¾ miles, a little north of east to a rounded hill named Sasai which stands above the Charkhai defile. On this pillar No. 16 is erected.

"The line thus crosses the Charkhai and runs north-east for 1¾ miles to Turkhina Sir, on which boundary pillar No. 17 was erected. Thence it follows the Sappara Ridge, 2¼ miles to the highest point of the ridge, on which pillar No. 18 is erected and continues eastward along the ridge for 3 miles to boundary pillar No. 19 erected on Mirakka, a flat open spur sloping down to the Dandi plain."

"From here the boundary strikes north-north-east 2 miles along the spur to the east of the Tarkhobi nullah, and pillar No. 20 is erected on a prominent peak named Tarkhobi Sir. Boundary pillar No. 21 was erected on a sharp prominent peak named Ping, ½ a mile further north-east. From here the line crosses the Gorweshta Valley which drains eastward into the Kaitu and continues north-east to a high prominent hill named Kasha on which pillar No. 22 is erected. The last pillar No. 23 is on the trignometrical point marked Laram Sir on the map, 1 mile due east of Kasha. This is about a quarter of a mile west of the most southerly boundary pillar erected by the Kurram Demarcation Commission."

The Amir of Kabul takes exception to the demarcation of Section I.

20. It has been necessary to describe the boundary as laid down in detail, because it would otherwise have been difficult to explain the objections which have been raised by the Amir himself and his officials to certain parts of the boundary line since the demarcation. The line is now so well known to the tribes on both sides of the boundary that there is little chance of a misunderstanding arising in the future, but it is possible that a dispute may arise in respect of particular tracts. A map of the boundary line as actually laid down was forwarded to the Amir in September 1895 for his information and signature. The Amir raised an objection to the part of the boundary deliminated between pillar No. XXXI at Khwaja Khider and pillar No. XX opposite Lur Khwa. He pointed out that the line as demarcated included within British territory Zebu Ghar, the pine forest and the burial grounds of the Kharotis which belonged to them from old times. He sent an amended drawing of the boundary to the Viceroy. According to the amended map the line from Khwaja Khider runs on the crest of the Marwati Range, and Musa Ziarat, Bargha, China, Zebah Ghar, Nazan Kotal, Nazmurdi Kotal and Manza Oba in which lie the villages, pastures and burial grounds of the Kharotis and of the Ahmadzais of Wana as stated by the Amir fall within the jurisdiction of the Amir of Kabul (see the map which illustrates the line as proposed by the Amir). There can be no doubt that Kharotis did exercise grazing rights and enjoy forest produce in a part of the tract to which the Amir has raised an objection. But it is equally certain that the Ahmadzais of Wana exercise those very rights in those parts and their kirris go regularly every year in the summer to Manza Oba,

Bargha China, the slopes of Zebah Chinai and the open ground between Musa Ziarat and Pashkina. In some of these places they undoubtedly exercise exclusive rights. To cede to the Amir the tract claimed by him would have placed the Wana Ahmadzais under the influence of the Afghan rule. The Government of India after consulting the Local Government and the local officers informed the Amir that they could not make the concession which he asked for. This was in the beginning of 1896 Since then Wana Ahmadzai kirris have crossed the Manza Oba and have encamped every year near Musa Ziarat, Baghar China and on the west slopes of the Marwati Range, and no objection to this practice has ever been made since then by the Amir or his Agent in Birmal.

Before the Viceroy's reply was sent to the Amir regarding the tract claimed by the latter a Surveyor in the Amir's employ crossed into the Madda Khel country under the orders of Khalifa Nur Muhammad, "Hakim" of Birmal, and commenced measuring land lying far within our side of the boundary, which he claimed belonged to the Amir. The Khalifa and his men circulated rumours among the people that Zowe Valley and Shawal belonged to the Amir. After the receipt of the Viceroy's reply by the Amir referred to above, intrigues relating to the boundary line have ceased and the boundary as demarcated has come to be considered as settled.

Proprietary and grazing rights of tribes on opposite side of the Durand boundary line.

21. The Durand line partitions the sphere of influence of the two Government concerned, and is not intended to interfere in any way with the proprietary and grazing rights of the tribes on either side.

On the first section of the boundary the Kharotis and Kabul Khels, who are subjects of the Afghan Government, have grazing rights and enjoy forest produce in common with the Ahmadzais of Wana in the hills round Baghar China. Mr. King while laying down the boundary had explained to the Afghan subjects clearly that no interference would be made with whatever rights to grazing and forest produce they possessed in the tract or on our side of the boundary. On the second section of the boundary Mr. Anderson while demarcating the boundary found that there was no fixed and recognised boundary between the Jadrans and Birmal on the west and the Madda Khels and other sections on the east of the boundary. There is, however, a recognised boundary between the Saidgis and Gurbaz. The boundary line which has been demarcated as a matter of fact is considered to divide very fairly on the whole the extensive grazing and forest tracts, the proprietary rights over which were very debatable, except at boundary pillar No. 4, where it passes between two little Achar Sayad hamlets, and at pillars Nos. 6, 7 and 8, where it includes within the British side a number of little Madda Khel hamlets and their cultivation and leaves on the Afghán side a tract of grazing land, unquestionably the property of those hamlets. The Jadrans, Madda Khels and the Achars and Tanis, dependents of the Madda Khels, where all found to enjoy grazing and forest rights in Mir Chapar Valley. The hilly tract between the Mastoi and Tochi which lies on the Afghan side of the boundary is exclusively Madda Khel land where the Machai villages on the Mastoi and Tochi had their grazing grounds.

On the third section of the boundary only the Tanis and Gurbaz have grazing rights on our side or on the southern slopes of the watershed which forms the boundary line. The Gurbaz have only a small strip of land, about half a mile wide, to the south of the boundary where they and the Saidgis march together, *viz.*, pillar No. 14 to pillar No. 16. It was recommended that the rights of the two tribes on our side of the boundary should be reserved.

CHAPTER IV.

TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB THROUGH WAZIRISTAN.

Trade routes between Afghanistan and Punjab through Waziristan.

22. There are two main routes in Waziristan which connect India with Central Asia, *viz.*, the Tochi in Northern Waziristan and the Gomal in Southern Waziristan. Both of the routes take their names from the rivers along the valley of which they run.

The Tochi route.

23. The Tochi river collects the drainage of the Afghan districts of Sarabi and Birmal, and in British territory that of Shawal and all the valleys running into Daur. The name Tochi is, however, applied to the river from the junction of the Margha and Mastoi streams at Dotoi as far as its exit in the Bannu plain at Tarkhi. The valley may be divided into four districts:— the Upper Tochi from Dotoi to Muhammad Khel; Upper Daur from Muhammad Khel to Isha Pass; Lower Daur from the Isha Pass to Khajuri; and Lower Tochi from Khajuri to the Bannu plain.

Since the occupation of the Tochi Valley the Powindah trade coming by the Tochi route, especially that carried by the Kharotis, has increased considerably, and it is hoped as the country becomes more settled and peaceable the route will draw most of the trade between Ghazni and India. We have posts at present as far as Datta Khel.

Routes from Datta Khel to Urgan.

21. There are four routes between this point and Urgan, *viz.*—

(1) The Margha route, length 56 miles.

(2) The Kazha route, " $61\frac{1}{2}$ "

(3) The Mastoi route, " 61 "

(4) A route connecting the Margha and Mastoi routes with the Kazha route.

Mr. Lorimer, the Political Officer, Tochi Valley, collected the following information from native sources in 1895 and verified it in the following year in regard to these routes to Ghazni :—

Though slightly longer than the other two the *Kazha route* possesses great advantages. Between the British border and Urgun upon this route there is only one difficult place, the defile at the Manri Narai.

The Waziri Maliks who have been accustomed to go about with our troops during the Tochi Expedition and on reconnaissances state that with proper picquets it could be passed in perfect safety. There are two points at which the *Kazha* route is liable to be interrupted by floods, namely, the Dangar Algad, which is a simple crossing, and the Dawa, up which the road runs for $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but floods in these nullahs are rare and seldom last more than half a day. The Dawa is said to be a shallow open channel, so in case of a sudden flood troops on the march should have no difficulty in getting out of it. The *Margha route,* on the other hand, has the advantage of approaching Urgun from its (apparently) more exposed southern side and avoiding the long detour from Pirketi by Ghundai, but if it were desired to approach Urgun from the south this could be done with one extra march from the *Kazha* by using the connecting route (No. 4) between Pirketi and the Khar Algad.

The *Mastoi* route is probably the least likely of three to be useful, as it runs to a great extent in different river-beds, *viz.*, in the Margha from Dotoi to Azim Kille (14 miles), in the Mastoi from Aighar to Tera Warai ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile) and in the Pirketi Algad or Dawa from Damionai to Ghazi Push Kille ($8\frac{1}{2}$ miles), and has no particular advantage to recommend it. It might, however, be turned to account as a subsidiary line of advance. Except for occasional floods of short duration which are commonly at particular times of the year, the beds of the Margha and Mastoi are nearly dry and offer no physical obstacles to the progress of troops. If the Kabul Khels were well affected, not a shot need be fired till our troops had emerged (on their third march from Dotoi) out of the difficult Waziri country into the easy Kharoti country. A tracing is appended to illustrate routes.

Route No. 1.—Datta Khel to Urgun (Margha route).

(1)	Datta Khel to Sheranni	8 miles.
(2)	Sheranni to Dotoi	7 "
(3)	Dotoi to Srapeza	$11\frac{1}{2}$ "
(4)	Srapeza to Margha	$9\frac{1}{2}$ "
(5)	Margha to Mehkam Kille	8 "
(6)	Mehkam Kille to Urgun	12 "

(*1*) *and* (*2*).—The first two marches are well known.

(3) *Dotoi to Srapeza.*—Villages passed are Shah Maddi (6 houses, Machas) a 1 mile on south bank; 2 miles further Arip (12 houses of Machas) on south bank; 1 mile further Sahib Shah (8 houses, Machas) on south bank; $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further Landun (7 houses, Machas) on north bank; $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further Vruke Mara Mele (6 houses, Machas) on north bank; 1 mile further Himbat (9 houses, Machas) on south bank; 1 mile further Star Mara Mele (5 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) on north bank; $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further Payaodin a (3 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) on north bank; 2 miles further Srapeza (14 houses, Paipli Kabul Khels) on south bank. The ordinary road most of the way lies in the bed of the river and is impassable in floods. There is a steep place on the road between Himbat and

Star Mara Mele, but it is passable by camels. The valley is narrow from Dotoi to Srapeza and commanded from both sides. Plenty of water is obtainable at Srapeza and sufficient grass and *bhusa*, but there is no good camping-ground. The whole valley is difficult, and Srapeza though not good is the best halting place.

(4) *Srapeza to Zara Margha.*—The following are the villages on the way:—Azim Kille (8 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) or Tangarrai on north bank, 3 miles beyond Srapeza; 4½ miles further Buki Khel (16 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) on north bank; 2 miles from Zara Margha (55 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) on south bank. This march is also through a confined valley commanded on both sides almost until Margha is reached. At Margha there is open and level ground for camping, and water and supplies in abundance

(5) *Margha to Mehkam Kille.*—The Margha stream is crossed to the north bank. The road then runs across the hills which separate the Mastoi from the Margha Valley across the Lwargi Narai. The hills are not very high and the road is not commanded, but the country is broken. From Margha to Dirono Kille (15 houses of weavers) in the Mastoi Valley is about 5 miles. Thence to Mehkam Kille (50 houses, Malik Khel Kharotis) is 3 miles. Mehkam Kille is situated at the junction of Khar Algad and the Mastoi. There is a good place for a camp near the main village between the Khar Algad and the Mastoi, and no difficulty about water or supplies.

(6) *Mehkam Kille to Urgun.*—For 10 miles the road runs up the Khar Algad. The hills on both sides are low and the ravine is not liable to serious floods, so the passage would not be dangerous. At Qaranye Narai, the ascent of which is easy, the Algad is left and the road strikes across level country to Urgun, 2 miles distant. Shortly before reaching Urgun the small village of Jani is passed.

The route cannot be recommended.

From Dotoi to Margha the road lies up the river-bed which is liable to floods lasting sometimes for more than one day. There are paths along the bank, but not fit (so far as I can learn) for the passage of troops with transport. Besides the valley is narrow and the hills rise to a considerable height on both sides. From Margha onwards the route is an excellent one. Camels can traverse the whole of this route from Dotoi to Urgun:—

Route No. 2.—Datta Khel to Urgun (Kazha route).

(1)	Datta Khel to Zurum	9 miles.
(2)	Zurum to Bibi	9 "
(3)	Bibi to Tandi Kot (or Alam Shah) ...	7 "
(4)	Tandi Kot (or Alam Shah) to Gulla Khan ...	10½ "
(5)	Gulla Khan to Pirketi	10 "
(6)	Pir Keti to Urgun	16 "

(1) *and* (2).—The first two marches have been performed by our troops during the Delimitation Commission.

(3) *Bibi to Tandi Kot* (*or Alam Shah*).—The road rises out of the Wacha Bibi Algad near Gulam's Kot and runs about 7 miles across the Lwara plain to Tandi Kot. This is an easy march. About 1½ miles short of Tandi Kot water in abundance is reached at Obi Sar. At Tandi Kot also there is plenty of water and a good camping-ground. The village consists of 15 houses of Paipali Kabul Khels. Plenty of grass can be obtained and a limited amount of *bhusa* in the season.

(4) *Tandi Kot (or Alam Shah) to Gulla Khan.*—First village passed is Faizal Kille (9 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels) about ½ mile beyond Tandi Kot; 2 miles further Tor Kille (4 houses, Gyan Khels); 2 miles further Gulmir (12 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels). Gulla Khan consists of 4 Gyan Khel houses and is about 6 miles from Gulmir.

The road is open and safe except for one defile, about ½ mile in length, between Gulmir and Gulla Khan and nearer to the former village.

There is a good open ground for camping at Gulla Khan and a good water-supply. Grass is obtainable in the hills near by, and *bhusa* can be fetched from the village of Star Gyan (360 houses, Zadrans), 4 miles to the north up the same nullah on which Gulla Khan stands.

(5) *Gulla Khan to Pirketi.*—One village passed on the way is Ali Shah (13 houses, Shekhan), about 7 miles from Gulla Khan; 3 miles further on is Pirketi. This march is level, and the country open, except for 2½ miles, where the Manri Narai is crossed. The ascent is abrupt on the east and the descent gradual on the west side The road here is commanded by hills on both sides. The pass, however, is described as easier and shorter than that between Datta Khel and Mani Rogha. Camels can pass the Narai without any difficulty. Pir Keti is a good halting place in every respect. The ground is open and the village contains 500 houses of Pir Keti. Water and supplies are abundant.

(6) *Pirketi to Urgun.*—The road lies up the bed of the nullah, which between Pirketi and Gagi Push Kille is called Dawa, and from Gagi Push Kille to Urgun the Urgun Algad. The villages passed on this march are as follows:—2 miles from Pirketi Siabibi (25 houses, Pirketi) on west bank; ½ mile further Shekhan (15 houses, Shekhan) on the east bank; 3 miles further Gagi Push Kille (10 houses, Piran) on left bank of Algad; ½ mile further Monda (35 houses, Piran) on left bank; 1 mile further Gulla Khan (10 houses Dehgan) on right bank; ½ mile further Bolesha (100 houses, Dehgan) on left bank; 2 miles further Chapak (40 houses, Pirketi) on left bank; ½ mile further Shakarls (50 houses, Dehgan) on left bank; 1 mile further Chargisha (20 houses, Dehgan) on right bank; 3 miles further Urgun on the left bank.

Neither the Dawa nor the Urgun Algad has a deep bed. Both are open and fairly smooth going. The Dawa is liable to floods, which would prevent the passage of troops, but above Gagi Push Kille there is never enough water to stop the way. There is no direct cut from Pirketi to Urgun over the intervening hills by which troops with transport could pass.

This is by all accounts by far the best route from Tochi to Urgun and the one generally taken by traders The only at all difficult or dangerous place appears to be at the Manri Narai, and it is described as easier than the Lwargi Narai between Datta Khel and Mani Rogha, which our troops have often used. The only places where the troops could be stopped by floods would be at the Dangar Algad near Gulla Khan between Jandikot and Pirketi and in the Dawa between Pirketi and Gagi Push Kille, but floods in these channels rarely last more than half a day.

Route No. 3.—Datta Khel to Urgun (Mastoi route).

(1), (2), (3), Datta Khel to Srapeza	...	... Same as in route No. 1.
(4) Srapeza to Tere Warai	...	... 10½ miles.
(5) Tere Warai to Pirketi	...	... 8 ,,
(6) Pirketi to Urgun ...	...	... Same as in route No. 2.

Srapeza to Tere Warai.—Only village passed in Margha Valley, after leaving Srapeza, is Azim Kille (see route No. 1). Half mile beyond Azim Kille the road strikes off to the north up the Ghwashti Shagga, crosses the hills between Margha and Mastoi and descends to Aighar on the right bank of the Mastoi. The ascent from Azim Kille is steeper than the descent to Aighar. Aighar is about 7 miles by this road from Azim Kille; it is a Paipali Kabul Khel village of about 30 houses. Half a mile further up the Mastoi on the opposite bank is Tere Warai (20 houses, Paipali Kabul Khels). The pass between Azim Kille and Aighar is not so bad as the Krum Pass between Datta Khel and Ismail Khel frequently used by our troops; it is not so high or steep, and it is less commanded.

The Mastoi Valley between Aighar and Tere Warai is not very contracted or much commanded. Tere Warai is a good halting place; sufficient supplies, plenty of water and a good safe camping-ground.

(5) *Tere Warai to Pirketi.*—The road leaves the Mastoi and runs in a north-west direction over the Tere Warai Narai (2 miles from the village) to Damionai, where it rejoins the same Algad, here called the Pirketi Algad Tere Warai to Damionai is about 5 miles. Damionai is a Pirketi village of about 40 houses on the right bank of Pirketi Algad. From Damionai to Shekhan is 1 mile. Shekhan consists of 10 houses of Shekhan on the left bank of the Pirketi Algad; 2 miles further on on the same bank is Pirketi (see route No. 2). The road is open and easy the whole way.

Route No. 4 connecting route between routes (1), (2) and (3).

Datta Khel to Urgun.

Tere Warai (see route No. 3) to Dirono Kille (see route No. 1) is about 2 miles.

Two miles above Dirono Kille is Mehkam Kille on right bank of Mastoi. One-and-a-half mile above Mehkam Kille is Khoedad Khel on the left bank of the Mastoi. It has 20 houses of Kharotis. Half mile above Khoedad is Said Muhammad Kille (10 houses of Kharotis) also on the left bank. Half mile above Said Muhammad Kille is Shaki Kille (25 houses of Kharotis) on same bank. Half mile above Shaki Kille is Samandi Kille (25 houses of Kharotis) on right bank. Half mile above Samandi Kille is Mangali Kille (30 houses of Mangalas) on left bank. Two miles above Mangali Kille is Damionai (see route No. 3) on the right bank of the stream, here called the Pirketi Algad. Except in floods it is easy going all the way from Tere Warai to Damionai. There is a track fit for camels and not badly commanded up the right bank of the river from Dirono Kille to Damionai which can be used in floods.

25. Beyond Urgun the routes between the Urgun Valley and Gardez and the Urgun Valley and Ghazni are described by Mr. Lorimer according to native information as follows. The map is appended :—

Routes between Urgun and Ghazni.

(1) The Urgun Algad to Sultani.

(2) Urgun Algad to Faltoi Band.

(3) Faltoi Band to Sarafza.

(4) Faltoi Band to Sultani.

(5) Sarafza to Gardez.

(6) Sarafza to Ibrahimzi.

(7) Sultani to Ibrahimzi.

(8) Ibrahimzi to Ghazni.

Gardez may be reached from the Urgun Valley by combining routes (1), (4), (3) and (5) or routes (2), (3) and (5) above and Ghazni by combining routes (1), (7) and (8) or routes (2), (4), (7) and (8) or routes (2), (3), (6) and (8). As will be seen below, the best and most certain route to Gardez from the Urgun Valley appears according to present information to be that by the Ketoni Narai and Sarafza and the best to Ghazni that by the Ketoni Narai, Faltoi Band, Sultani and Ibrahimzi.

No. (1). *The Urgun Algad to Sultani*.—This is known as the Ikhkarai route ; one branch of it starts from Urgun, another from Monda. The road lies entirely through the hills. Camels are said to go by it, but it is apparently not much frequented, and until more is known about it it cannot be recommended for the use of troops. About midway in the hills at Maidanak there is said to be a small Shahtori village.

No. (2). *The Urgun Algad to Faltoi Band*.—From Ghundai the route runs across waste and somewhat broken country to the Dana Algad into which it drops not far from Sandar Khel, a Kakko Khel Kharoti village of about 25 houses standing about half a mile back from the bed of the Dhana.

From Ghundai to the Dhana is 5 or 6 miles. The road then runs up the bed of the stream, and 3 or 4 miles further on passes Rais Robat or Shah Tori, a Shah Tori village of about 30 houses. Two miles beyond this it leaves the bed of the stream near Kazhakai, where there are a few houses of Kharotis. There is little water in the Dhana except in rainy weather. From Kazhakai the road slopes up for about 3 miles over broken or undulating ground to the Ketoni Narai; it falls again somewhat more rapidly to Faltoi Band, which is about 2 miles from the Narai. The road is said to be easy and open the whole way from Ghundai to Faltoi Band, and excluding the part which lies over hills between the Dana and the Faltoi, the ridge, of which the Ketoni Narai is the pass, is described as low and open by Tochi standards. At Faltoi there are mills and a small native fortification (or the remains of one) built by Suleman Khels when they were at war with the Kharotis, but no village.

No. (3). *Faltoi Band to Sarafza*.—There is a path about 3 miles in length through hills to Sarafza, but a better road, length about 4 miles, runs first west from the Faltoi Band and then north to Sarafza. The latter road seems to be easy and open. Sarafza is a large village or town of about 603 houses, inhabited by Kharotis.

No. (4). *Faltoi Band to Sultani*.—The direct road is down the bed of the Faltoi in which there is generally little water. For about a month in spring the stream runs rather high, but even then it is fordable.

Another way lies down the right bank of the Faltoi where the country is flat, dry and unculitvated. The hills on the left bank are rather high, but annoyance from them could be escaped by building down the right bank at a distance from the stream. Sultani is a village of Suleman Khel Ghilzais with probably about 70 houses.

No. (5) *Sarafza to Gardez*.—The road to Gardez diverges from Sarafza-Ghazni road in some hills about 3 miles from Sarafza. The hills are not large enough to be dangerous. From a ridge or pass in them, the Sirko Narai, the road runs about 7 miles through flat, uncultivated country to Sardiwal, a Suleman Khel Ghilzai village of about 60 houses. Three miles further on in Derai, another Suleman Khel village of about 20 houses; 3 or 4 miles beyond that Lak Diwal, where there are a few houses of Suleman Khels. From the Sirko Narai to Lak Diwal the country is said to be level and mostly uncultivated. Beyond Lak Diwal cultivation begins and continues the whole way to Gardez. Four miles beyond Lak Diwal in Shekhan, where there are about 40 houses of Shekhs; 4 miles further Sarmast Khel, a Suleman Khel village of about 50 houses; 1 mile further Fatteh Khel, a Suleman Khel village of about 40 houses; 1 mile further Kaigar, a Suleman Khel village of about 45 houses. From Kaigar to the crossing of the Jilga is about 7 miles.

The stream is small and offers no impediment except in floods. On the north bank of the Jilga stands Ibrahim, a collection of small hamlets of Andars, numbering altogether 300 or 400 houses. Four miles beyond Ibrahim Khel is Gardez, which stands in a populous cultivated tract surrounded by numerous small villages. Gardez itself has about 600 houses of Dehgans and other miscellaneous tribes. The whole road from Sarafza to Gardez is described as open, level and free from obstacles. There are few trees except at Sarmast Khel and at Gardez itself.

No. (6). *Sarafza to Ibrahimzi*.—The road runs first to the Sirko Narai hills mentioned in route (5) above. From the hills to Chawani, where there are some 25 houses of Andars, is about 4 miles. From Chawani to the middle of the Mita Khan group of hamlets is about 3½ miles. Mita Khan consists of 100 or more houses of Andars. From Mita Khan it is about 5½ miles to Mirzak, where there are a few houses of Andars; 5 miles further is Ghale Khel with about 25 houses of Andars; and 3 miles further on Ibrahimzi where the Sarafza and Sultani routes to Ghazni unite. There is cultivation round Mita Khan, but from Mita Khan to Ibrahimzi cultivation is said to be scanty. From Sarafza to Ibrahimzi the road is represented as free of military difficulties.

No. (7). *Sultani to Ibrahimzi*.—The road after crossing the Faltoi runs for 10 miles across a dry and uncultivated plain to Sherannye, which is a large village of about 1,000 houses of Suleman Khel Ghilzais. Patanna is a considerable village of Dehgans, seems to lie a short distance north of Sherannye, but conflicting accounts are given of its position probably because of its lying off the ordinary road. Seven miles beyond Sherannye is Khawaja Khel, a collection of some 300 Andar houses; and 3 miles beyond Khawaja Khel is Ibrahimzi. From Sherannye to Ibrahimzi is described as cultivated.

No. (8). *Ibrahimzi to Ghazni*.—From Ibrahmizi to Band on the Jilga (there is no village) is about 4 miles; the country traversed is uncultivated. Except in a flood the Jilga is easily passable. About 2 miles beyond Band a detached hill known as Mursal Ghundai is passed: it lies about a mile off the road to the north. Three miles from Band is Mazdur, a village of about 60 houses of Andars; 3 miles further Nazar Khan Kille with about 30 houses of Andars; 2 miles further Ibrahimzi with about 400 houses of Andars; 3 miles further Janabat 200 or 300 houses of Andars; then at 2 miles Rozi Kille about 40 houses of Andars; at another 2 miles Narji Gudali 40 houses of Andars; 4 miles further on comes Warza and then at a distance of 7 miles Ghazni. There is said to be no military difficulty. The whole way from Ibrahimzi to Ghazni and the Jilga is the only nullah of importance to be crossed except one near Warza which can be avoided. The country is reported to be cultivated the whole way from the Jilga to Ghazni.

Neglecting therefore route No. 1, which may prove to be impracticable for troops, the distance from Ghundai to Ghazni appears to be about 72 miles by Sultani and the same by Sarafza, while Ghundai is itself 53 miles from Datta Khel in Tochi by the Kazha route. From Ghundai to Gurdez appears to be about 58 miles. This makes it 125 miles to Ghazni and 111 to Gurdez from Datta Khan in Tochi. Between Ghundai and Faltoi Band it is said Shah Tori would make a good halting place; elsewhere along all these routes it appears that no difficulty would be experienced in respect of camping-grounds, water or supplies.

The Gomal route.

26. The Gomal is the old trade route used by the Powindahs. Since the occupation of the Zhob District and the opening of the Dhana and Zao routes which connect the Zhob District with the Dera Ismail Khan District through the Shirani country, a part of the Prowindah trade has been diverted from the Gomal Pass route.

The Gomal Pass route is now in very good condition, and the Gowaleri Kotal which before the opening of the Gomal Pass in 1890 used to be the chief difficulty of the route is perhaps the best part of the road in the pass. From Murtaza to Kajuri Kach, a distance of 28 miles, a good camel road has been constructed and is maintained in proper condition. From Kajuri Kach the road runs to Domandi on the junction of the Gomal and Kunder along the river through an open country. From this point several routes were taken to Afghanistan.

The principal centres of Afghan trade on this side are Khorasan, Ghazni and Kabul. The Khorasan traders take the Gomal route which runs along the western branch of the Gomal river, entering Zarmilan at its south-western corner near Domandi. The route runs nearly all the way through open plains, is easy and shorter than any other route from Khorasan.

The Ghazni and Kabul traders use three different routes :—

The first runs at first along the western branch of the Gomal river. This like the Khorasan route runs through plains and is easy but longer than the other routes, and is used by Powindahs who wish to avoid passing through or near Darwesh Khel or Mahsud limits. It follows later an eastern branch of the Gomal and joins the Khorasan route.

The second route is *viâ* Mauza Oba. It is known as the caravan route, is much shorter than the other routes, has an abundance of camel-grazing along its entire length, and is in consequence preferred to the others and is much used, notwithstanding the risk of passing through Waziri limits. It passes through Birmal and enters Wana through the Neza Narai and Sarkanda Passes which open into the valley at a distance of about 3 miles from each other.

Both of these passes become blocked by snow, but this presents no difficulty or danger to the caravans which generally pass before the snowfall begins and return after it has melted away.

The route after crossing the Marwati Range runs southward on the east of and along the Spera Range as far as Zobrarsak, and from there taking a south-westerly direction runs through Bahamai and enters Zarmilan at its north-westerly corner along the Weghar river.

The third route is *viâ* Shakin. It runs along to the west of the second route before entering the Marwati Range and lower down traverses the Spera Range through the Trikha Pass, which at the eastern end is called Khand Kotal. This route after crossing the Spera Range meets the Mauza Oba route in Bahamai.

CHAPTER V.

Leading Mullahs of Waziristan.

Darwesh Khels.

27. (1) *Mullah Ghulam Habib.*—He is the son of the late Mullah Gulab Din, and is about 16 years of age. He owns a kot and some land at Idar Khel in Lower Daur. He took part in some religious discussions there at the beginning of the hot weather of 1898, and was afterwards heard of among the Dosallis in Khaisor, where Mullah Powindah met and received him with respect for his father's sake. He is believed to have paid a visit after this to the Wana side. He is still a boy and has not made any mark yet.

(2) *Mullah Mitha Khan.*—He is an old man and a Pathan by birth. He lives all the year round and owns land among the Dosalli Mohmit Khels of the Khaisor, and settles their petty cases and those of the other Mohmit Khels by Shariat. He is not an adherent of any particular sect, and spends his time in preaching and teaching. He is well spoken of in regard to attainments and character, is much respected, and does not appear to be hostile to Government. He occasionally visits Upper Daur.

(3) *Mullah Gul Said, Mohmit Khel, of Nagar.*—He is above 40 years of age. He really belongs to Idar Khel in Daur, but his influence is confined to the Tori Khels and Mohmit Khels of Khaisor, among whom he spends most of his time. He winters in Idar Khel where he owns land and summers at Dosalli in Khaisor, and is also heard of at Aughar and Razoni. He is a man of some education, and his attitude towards Government is doubtful. He follows the Swat Akhunds and Mullah Powindah. He was once suspected of instigating the attack near Miram Shah.

(4) *Mullah Malik,* alias *Lala.*—His age is above 60, and he is said to be of Swat extraction and to visit Swat every year. He is a native of Kazha, where he owns land and spends summer. His winter quarters are in Maizar. He is the Mullah of the Madda Khels, but does not appear to have been at Maizar on the 10th June 1897. He is a follower of the Akhunds of Swat. He is not well educated. He does not appear hostile to Government, and his influence extends to Birmal.

(5) *Sahib Nur.*—He has succeeded his father Bade Fakir, who died in 1898.

(6) *Mullah Ghain-ud-din.*—He lives at Sherani, and is said to have taken a leading part in the Madda Khel agitation of 1896 against Government. He came in to be tried for instigating the murder of Honda Ram, Levy Muharrir, and was acquitted. On the 10th June 1897, he appears to have been away from home, but he accompanied the Madda Khels into Afghanistan on the advance of the Tochi Field Force, and once paid a visit to Mullah Powindah at Marobi during the expedition. There have been no complaints of his behaviour since.

(7) *Mullah Umar Khan.*—He is a Wali Khel Wazir, visits Shawal and Mani Rogha in summer, and settles a good many cases.

Daur.

28. (8) *Mullah Sher Khan.*—He is a Pathan by caste, and is a follower of the Karbogha Mullah, belongs to the sect of the Swat Akhunds, and maintains friendly relations with Mullah Powindah, but bears an excellent character. He owns a little land at Mussaki, where he lives, but subsists cheifly on alms and abstains from worldly affairs. He has not much influence.

(9) *Mullah Darwesha.*—He belongs to Muhammad Khel, Upper Daur, and studied in Peshawar. He is a quiet and respectable man. He is about 42 years of age and locally much esteemed.

(10) *Mullah Ghazni of Land.*—He professes attachment to the Adkar shrine at his village. In Pushto times he was a "sipahi," or bravo of the village, but is said to be fairly well educated, and has not shown any antipathy to Government.

(11) *Mullah Gulab Shah.*—He also belongs to Land, and was a Sheikh of Mullah Powindah, but is a man of decent character and some education.

(12) *Mullah Juma Khan.*—He belongs to the Khiddi, and is a well-to-do zamindar. He is about 51 years of age, of fair education, and apparently well affected to Government.

(13 & 14) *Mullah Gulbagh Shah and his son Timar Shah*—Are Syads of Kanigoram, but own a kot and lands at Tappi in Daur, where they spend a good deal of their time. They are Pirs rather than Mullahs. Gulbagh Shah gives himself out to be an adherent of the Adkar Sahib shrine in Upper Tochi.

Mahsuds.

29. (15) *Mullah Hamzullah of Kaisera.*—He is a Bizzan Khel Wazir, and a disciple of the Swat Akhunds, but peaceably disposed. He does not visit the Tochi, but is beginning to be looked upon as the leading Mullah of the Wazirs as opposed to Powindah, the Mullah of the Mahsuds. He temporarily settled in Badar, but in 1898 he returned again to Kundiwam in Khaisora owing to the fact that he was annoyed with the Darwesh Khels who stopped giving him thank-offerings, and he hopes to fare better among the Mahsuds. Another reason for his leaving Badar is that he owns a large number of cattle, for which Badar is too cold a place in winter.

(16) *Mullah Mualim.*—This man has no fixed residence, but goes about the Abdul Rahman Khels and other tribes in the neighbourhood of Kanigoram. He is a friend of Mullah Powindah, and helped him in the intrigues which led up to the attack of Wana, at the same time keeping up apparently friendly relations with the British. He is a disciple of Akhund of Swat, and his chief object in life seems to be to accumulate money. He is quiet now.

(17) *Mullah Powindah*—Is a Mahsud Mullah and belongs to the Shabi Khel section of the Alizai branch. He is about 50 years old. About 15 years ago he was well known in the Bannu District, when he used to wander about as a 'Talib-ilm.' In 1886-87 he was suspected of complicity in the case of the murder of Allah Dad Khan, Darogha of the Bannu Jail, by two 'Talib ilms.' He then took to the hills and became an outlaw. He at first took refuge in Lower Daur and assumed the title of 'Badshah-i-taliban' or head of the 'talibs.' Shortly after this he became a 'murid' of the well-known Mullah Gulab Din, who had then also taken up his residence in Daur, not far away. While Gulab Din was alive, Mullah Powindah's name was little known, and he has only come into some prominence since Gulab Din's death. He led the attack on the British Delimitation Commission at Wana in November 1894. Only a few months before this attack he had moved into the Mahsud country and settled down at Dotoi near Makin. He seems to be losing influence among the Mahsuds. During the Tochi Expedition he either felt his power to raise trouble gone and did not try, or else tried and was unsuccessful. It seems to be not uncommon now for Maliks to refuse to pay him dues, not submit to his decision in cases, and generally to treat him with scant respect. Hamzullah, the "Waziri" Mullah, is perhaps gaining ground as Powindah loses it.

(18) *Kazi Sher Khan.*—He is an Urmar and resides at Kanigoram.

(19) *Mullah Alamir.*—He is an Abba Khel and resides in Makin. Regarding him and the preceding Mullah it may be said that they would, on any important question, certainly throw in their lot with Mullah Powindah.

Mullahs possessing influence in Waziristan or Daur, though not residing there.

30. (20) *Mullah Dad Muhammad.*—He still resides in Takhti Khel, the village of Malik Daurana Khan in the Marwat Tahsil. He possesses influence over the Mahsuds, Bannochis and Waziris and is on friendly terms with Mullah Shah Jahan Shah and Mullah Powindah, and follows the tenets of the Mullah of Manki. He is a follower of Akhund Abdul Ghafur Sahib, resident of Swat Boner. He opposes the tenets of Khwaja Allah Bakhsh Sahib of Taunsa Sharif in the Dera Ghazi Khan District. He is said to be between 40 and 50 years of age. He is not in reality well disposed towards Government, but outwardly appears to be so. He occasionally visits the Tochi.

(21) *Akhund of Swat.*—The Akhund was very powerful in these parts, but since his death his disciples have divided into factions. The Mullah of Manki, one of his disciples, has now set up, on his own account, as a Pir. The Mullah of Karbogha in the Kohat District is the local leader of the other section which still acknowledges the grandsons of the Akhund. The chief members of each in this neighbourhood are as follows: —

Akhund Swat's faction—

Mullah of Karbogha.

" Powindah.

" Lukman Shah.

" Nasra Din.

" Mirullah.

" Malik.

Mullah Manki's faction—

Mulla Shah Jahan.

" Alam Khan of Sorani.

" Ghulam.

" Darwesh Shah.

(22) *Mullah of Karbogha.*—This man has some influence in the north of the Bannu District and in Waziristan, especially among the Kabul Khels. He occasionally visits the Bannu District, and was at Isa Khel before the riot of 1893.

SECTION II.

The Mahsuds.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE MAHSUD COUNTRY.

Position of country.

31. The country of the Mahsuds lies in the south of Waziristan, and is hemmed in on the north and west by the Utmanzai Darwesh Khels on the south-west by the Ahmadzais of Wana, and on the east by the Bhittannis. On the south of the Mahsud country lies a tract both on the north and south side of the Gomal Pass which is devoid of permanent inhabitants. The permanent neighbours of the Mahsuds in this direction are the Shirannis, whose country lies to the south of the above tract. The Mahsud country nowhere comes in contact with any of the districts of British India; all the passes from it which debouch on to British territory pass through the country of the Bhittannis. The Gomal Pass is the sole exception to this rule, and it is a pass from which several routes lead to the Mahsud country.

The country lies in the north latitude from 32° 10′ to 32° 44′ and in the east longitude from 69° 38′ to 70° 22′.

Boundaries.

32. As far as can be ascertained without making detailed enquiries on the spot the boundaries of the Mahsud country are as follows :—

North.—The boundary, starting from near Bosh Narai on the Shawal Range which separates the drainage of the Shawal Valley from that of the Tank Zam and the Khaisor, runs along that range to the south of Shuidar and Razmak to near Waladin on the Shaktu and then follows the Shaktu Valley until it reaches near Mandawam.

East.—From near Mandawam the line strikes the crest of the ridge dividing the Shaktu from the Sheranna, and follows it to the vicinity of Khwaja Khidar Ziarat. From there it turns eastward and sweeping round the Siruna runs on the crest of the Babarghar Range which separates the Shuza from the Tank Zam and crosses the Spin Raghza plain to Do-Tak, about 2 miles to the west of the Jandola Post.

South.—From Do-Tak the line runs by the Shahur stream as far as Kar Ghundi Hill, and then running south follows the curve of the watershed between the Kin Tak, lower down called the Shahur and the Gomal, to the Kundighar Mountain.

West.—Leaving Kundighar Peak the line runs in a north-west direction to a point nearly due west of Torwam on the Khaisera along the ridge dividing the Spin Valley from that of Khaisera. Here it crosses the Khaisera river and runs along the ridge, forming the southern boundary of the Badar Valley, which it follows until it runs along the watershed between the Shawal and Shi Tak drainage to near Bosh Narai.

Debatable tract to the south of Mahsud country and north of the Gomal.

33. The tract lying to the south of the Mahsud country between the Spin Valley on the west and the Girni Range on the east, or between the Gomal and a line drawn from Jandola to Sarwekai through Haidari Kach, though dominated by the Mahsuds, cannot be accurately described as Mahsud country. It is in fact a "no-man's land." It contains no permanent settlement of any tribe. The Shahur Shaman Khels take their grazing kirris to the Khuzma hills in the hot weather, while in the cold weather the same ground has been occupied since our occupation of Wana with troops by the Taji Khel Darwesh Khel grazing kirris. The Dotannis graze their flocks and cut dwarf palm (mizri) on the sides of Madijan. In the Urmana ravine under the fort of Girni the Zalli Khel grazing kirris often encamp in the cold weather. Though Sarwekai itself is within the limits of the Mahsud conntry, yet the Taji Khels have of late been encamping round it and in the direction of Barwand in the cold weather. There is one other undefined tract to the south of the above and lying south of the Gomal and to the north of the Shiranni country. It is occupied only in the hot weather by the Mianis and Ghorezais who are practically British subjects as they have their permanent villages, houses and lands in British territory within the limits of the Gomal "*thana*" (police station) and cross the border only in the hot weather.

Claim to the Gomal Pass.

34. The Gomal Pass which runs in the middle of the two permanently unoccupied tracts described above has always been considered as belonging to the Mahsuds. Actually it is outside the limits of their country. The claim of the Mahsuds to the Gomal Pass is based on the fact of their using it from time immemorial as a raiding ground which supplied them with a source of livelihood. The pass has been used for generations by the Powindah caravans which trade between India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. About 50,000 of these

traders enter the Dera Ismail Khan District through this pass every year from the 15th September to the 1st of December with their families, flocks, herds and long strings of camels laden with merchandise. They return to Afghanistan again through this pass in the same procession in the spring from the 15th March to the end of May. Though these Powindahs always moved through the Gomal Pass in large numbers and well armed, yet the Mahsuds maintained a state of incessant warfare with them during their travels through the pass and looted them, their cattle, flocks and camels wherever and whenever they found an opportunity to do so. The Powindahs more than once attempted to come to a compromise with them and to arrange for an unmolested passage through the Gomal Pass on payment of fixed blackmail, but the Mahsuds invariably refused to listen to any compromise. This state of things has now, however, been put a stop to. The Mahsuds cannot now claim the Gomal Pass as their raiding ground. They renounced their claim to raid in the pass and undertook to keep the pass safe in consideration for the allowances and service which they were granted in the beginning of 1890 at Appozai (Fort Sandeman). It will be observed later on that they forfeited these allowances by their misconduct in connection with the attack they made on the Delimitation Commission at Wana in November 1894. The allowances which they now enjoy were granted them under altogether new conditions.

Physical description of the country.

35. The Mahsud country has been described as "an entangled mass of mountains and hills of every size, shape and bearing" and as intersected in all directions by ravines generally flanked through their course by high hills. A reference to the map attached will show that the above remarks are only too true; the only white space which meets the eye on the map is a small tract in its south-west corner near Barwand on the Shahur. At first sight the whole country appears to be occupied by hills and mountains running irregularly in all directions, but a careful examination of the map will show that there are well defined ranges of mountains which protect the interior of the Mahsud country by double barriers of high mountains and make penetration into it a matter of extreme difficulty.

Mountain ranges of the Mahsud country.

36. The country is surrounded on all its sides as it were by a single range of lofty mountains which are broken through only by the Khaisera, Zam and Shaktu Valleys and are crossed over by "kotals." On the north a range of mountains called Sodghar starting from Mandawam runs westward to the head of the Shawali stream forming the southern boundary of the Upper Shaktu Valley. Here the Shawal Range starts from the junction of the Zandargai and Shawali streams, and forming a glen with the western part of the Sodghar Range runs westward as far as the Shuidar Peak where it sweeps in the south-west direction to Lakrai Narai. From there it, throwing a long arm called the Pirghal Range in the north-east direction, runs along the southern boundary of the Badar Valley to Sharwangi Narai, from which place an arm of the Bar Pat Range, which itself forms a horse shoe of mountains and encircles a large interior tract of the the Mahsud country, continues the range until it reaches the Khaisera river Here the range is broken and a new range, Kundighar, starts from the other side of the valley, and forming the southern boundary of the Mahsud country terminates at the Shahur Tangi on its south. Across the Shahur from Spin Raghza near Jandola another range of high hills called Babarghar runs from south to north of the junction of the Shaktu and Karesti along the western boundary of the country, and completes the circle of ranges round the country.

In the interior the Pirghal Range, which is an arm of the main Shawal Range, shoots several arms in an eastern direction terminating at the Kanigoram Valley, and between those arms the important glens called (1) the Maidan, (2) Patwela, (3) the Murdar Algad and (4) the Drikhan which all drain into the Badar and afford a safe asylum to the Mahsuds in fastnesses to which it is difficult to obtain an access.

I have referred above to the Bar Pat Range which encircles a vast area of the interior of the Mahsud country which serves as if it were a second high wall of mountains. It shuts off the Kanigoram Valley from Khaisera, Shahur, Jandola and the lower portion of the Shi Tak tract. It is connected with the Shawal Range by the Sharwangai Kotal between the Khaisera and Kanigoram Valleys. This range may appropriately be termed the backbone of the country.

Ravines

37. Another physical feature of the country is the ravines intersecting it in all directions. The ravines are generally flanked throughout their course by high hills which occasionally recede sufficiently to give the spaces enclosed the appearance of small valleys. The width of these ravines is very variable, in some places being as much as a thousand yards whilst at others they narrow to a hundred yards or less, but they are broadest at their mouths and gradually narrow as they ascend. With the exception of a small tract jutting into the Shaktu between Waladin and Mendawam and the Shiruna uplands between the sources of the Shuza Sheruna and Karesti streams the Mahsud territory consists of the country drained by the Zam westward of Do-Tak. At Do-Tak two streams meet each other: the northern is called locally Shi Tak, and the southern Kin Tak and, lower down, the Shahur. The Shi Tak takes its head in the Shawal Range where it is known by the name of Darra; a

little below Makin it is joined by the combined waters of Toda China and Shuran which take their origin in the Shuidar hills. At Dotai it is met by the Badar stream which drain the country to the south of the Pirghal hills; lower down it is joined by the combined waters of Wacha Khwar and Tand Khwar, the latter, however, is the name given to the collected waters of Shinkai, Lalozai and Tri streams. The southern branch of the Zam called Kin Tak takes its head in the Shakai hills. It has three sources which unite above Torwam. The most southern comes from the Dre Narai Pass and irrigates a portion of the Shakai Valley. The middle stream is called the Sang Toi which rises in the Bosh Narai Pass, and the northern is the Mani Toi. The united stream is called Khaisera in the Khaisera Valley, and below the Khaisera Tangi the Shahur. Its important tributary is the Ispiltoi stream which joins it at the Shahur Tangi below Haidari Kach Post.

Cultivation.

38. From the rugged nature of the country cultivation is confined to plateaux at the base of high mountains, the small valleys and the stretches of alluvial land bordering the main ravines: culturable tracts of any large area are in the Khaisera valley, in the Shahur Valley along the stream, in Shi Tak along the stream from Kotkai of the Shingis to Dotai, near Kanigoram, Makin and Razmak and also in the Khaisor and Shakai ravines.

Principal passes into the Mashud country.

39. The principal passes used by the Mahsuds in entering the British territory are the Shuza, Tank Zam, Girni and the Gomal. With the exception of the last-named, all of them pass through the Bhittanni territory.

The other principal passes crossing high mountains are—

The Sur Narai which leads from Makin by the Shuran Algad to Shawal.

The Darra Pass which leads from the head of the Darra Valley into Shawal.

The Zar Narai leads from the head of the Badar Valley into the Darra Valley.

The Bosh Narai and Dre Narai both lead from the Shakai Valley into Shawal.

There are several passes leading from the Shahur Valley to the Gomal. The passes most known and used are—

(1) That which leads from Sarwekai to Ngandi Oba.

(2) Soi from the Danot nullah to Khajuri Kach.

(3) Khuzamasar which connects Sarwekai with the Gomal.

(4) Charkundi which joins the Gomal with the Shahur by the Urmana nullah.

Besides the above, there are a few other important passes which we occasionally find mentioned in an account of the Mahsud country, and they are—

The Sawamgai between the Khaisor and Kanigoram Valleys.

The Kuravan Kotal which leads from Kanigoram over the Bar Pat Range to Jandola.

The Nawal Anga Mal and Narkshmarin are the passes leading from the Razmak plateau into the Shaktu.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER OF THE MAHSUDS.

Early character of the Mahsuds.

40. Brigadier General Chamberlain writes of the Mahsuds 40 years ago:—

"They were formerly celebrated as the earliest, the most inveterate and the most incorrigible of all the robbers of the border. It was their boast that while kingdoms and dynasties had passed away they alone of all the Afghan tribes had remained free, and that the armies of kings had never penetrated their strongholds, that in their intercourse with the rest of mankind they knew no law or will lent their own, and lastly that from generation to generation the 'Daman' (the plains) within a night's run of the hills had been their hunting ground from which to enrich themselves.

"Not very many years ago their depredations extended as far as the town of Dera Ismail Khan itself, which is about 50 miles from their hills. They kidnapped children from the very town of Dera Ismail Khan and demanded exorbitant sums for their release, and if the relations of the captives delayed to ransom them, they cut off their fingers and sent them to their relations to move their tender feeling. These are facts regarding the character of the Mahsuds which are yet fresh in the memory of many a

resident of Dera Ismail Khan. The tribe has during the last 40 years undergone a gradual but considerable change, and the state of things which prevailed in the Daman 40 years ago is a thing of the past even on the high ways which pass near their country across the border "

Major Macaulay writes in 1881 of them :—

" There is a marked distinction observable between the Mahsuds and their neighbours in the hills, the Ahmadzais (Darwesh Khels). The former have never undergone, like the latter have owing to their landed possessions in the Bannu District, the civilizing and softening effects of constant residence in and frequent intercourse with British territory, and when both are seen together in their hills the contrast is very striking. The Mahsuds appear almost to be an inferior breed of men when compared with the Ahmadzais of Wana, Shakai, Badar and Razmak, who bear all testimony in their dress, appearance, bearing and conversation to the benefits derivable from close contact with British rule."

The Punjab Government describes the tribe in 1881 as follows :—

" Notorious as the boldest of robbers they are more worthily admired for the courage which they show in attack, in hand-to-hand fighting with the sword. From the early days of rule in the Punjab few tribes on the frontier have given greater or more continuous trouble and none have been more daring or more persistent in disturbing the peace of British territory. It is no exaggeration to say that for the first 20 years after the annexation not a month passed without some serious crimes, cattle-lifting, robbery accompanied by murder being committed by armed bands of marauders from the Mahsud hills."

Private feuds.

41. Among the Mahsuds clan and sectional feuds are of rare occurrences. Even personal feuds are comparatively rare. This marked characteristic of the tribe is fostered by peculiar customs and laws. It is well known that amongst Pathans the avenger of blood is not only privileged, but bound, to slay any relative of the man who has committed the deed for which vengeance is sought. But Waziri grey beards of ancient times ruled otherwise; with them the actual murderer must be the only victim. The effect of this wise law was to cement the tribe by avoiding these ramified feuds, which in other places arose out of indiscriminate vengeance, where an account current of blood was handed down from father to son and balanced at convenience, and where the friend of yesterday became the victim of to-day. Again, the sums of money which under certain circumstances were accepted by relatives of the slain, locally denominated " make-up money," were fixed at much higher rates than amongst other tribes. Waziri life, therefore, was habitually regarded as something valuable The sums were so large, indeed, as to be seldom forthcoming, when articles of property were reckoned in at fancy prices, but still the nominal mulct was a restraining influence on those passions which would lead to strife and disruption. This rude law had sufficient weight to control them in their intercourse with each other, and they worked for a common end ; thus, as their numbers increased, they had gradually overcome their neighbours and extended their limits until they had become an object [illegible]rror along the whole of western border.

CHAPTER II.

DESCENT OF THE MAHSUD TRIBE AND ITS DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS.

Descent of the Mahsuds.

42. The Mahsuds, as has been stated already, are descended from Mahsud, son of Mahmud, son of Khizri, son of Wazir. They are divided into three main branches, namely,—

(1) Alizai,
(2) Shaman Khels,
(3) Bahlolzai,

each of which is sub-divided into sections and sub-sections. All these sections and sub-sections are shown in full detail in the genealogical tree and tables which form Appendices A and B of this report.

Principal divisions of the Mahsud tribe.

43. Some of the main divisions of the three branches are noted below :—

I.—Alizai ...	Manzai ...	Giddi Khel. Palli Khel. Malikdinai.
	Shabi Khel ...	Astanai. Pathanai. Sultanai. Baromai. Bibizai. Khan Khel.

II.—Shaman Khel ... ... { Chahar Khel.
Khali Khel.
Gale Sbai.
Badinzai.

III.—Bahlolzai ... {
- Nana Khel ... { Haibat Khel. Jalal Khel. Abdul Rahman Khel. Nekzan Khel. Niga Khel. Kikrai. Umar Khel. Urmar Khel.
- Aimal Khel ... { Malikshai. Nazar Khel. Abdullai.
- Shingis.
- Band Khel.

To the above may be added the Urmars of Kanigoram who, although in their origin a separate tribe, now form a part of the Mahsud tribe. Besides, there are a few families of Syads at Kanigoram. In our arrangements with the Mahsuds in respect of allowances we have classed both the Urmars and Syads with the Shaman Khel branch of the Mahsuds with which they are connected in various ways, as will be shown elsewhere.

44. Though Alizais, Shaman Khels and Bahlolzais are branches of the same Mahsud tribe, yet in their internal disputes and quarrels and in matters not affecting the whole Mahsud tribe they maintain their division into three distinct branches. The fighting strength of the three branches is—

Relations of the three main branches of the Mahsuds with each other.

Alizais	4,042
Shaman Khels, including Urmars	2,466
Bahlolzais	4,088
Total ...	10,596

Notwithstanding the above differences in the fighting strengths, the three branches divide the tribal profits and liabilities into three equal shares among themselves.

45. The Alizais are divided into two branches, namely, Manzais and Shabi Khels. The fighting strength of these two branches consists of 2,772 and 1,270 men, respectively. Traditionally the two branches are united by half blood, but the dividing line between the two divisions is very marked. They would not combine together, except in important matters affecting the whole Mahsud tribe. In ordinary cases they have no more connection with each other than the Alizais have with the other two branches. They divide their profits and responsibilities equally among themselves.

Alizai.

46. The Manzai sections of Alizais are so called because they inhabit the "intermediate" country between the Shi Tak and Kin Tak, the two tributaries of the Zam Tank which meet at Do-Tak, about 2 miles to the west of the Jandola Post. The sections living here have close connections with one another; only two sections, Michi Khel and Abbas Khel, of the Palli Khel Manzais live apart in the Khaisera Valley and along the Shahur. The *Giddi Khels* and *Palli Khels* are the two most important branches of Manzais, with fighting strengths of 1,077 and 1,465 men, respectively. The *Giddi Khel* section lives mostly along and round the plateau at the south-east foot of Bar Pat Range. The Langar Khel is a noted branch of the Giddi Khel section and takes its notoriety from its first class Maliks Badar Din and Muhammad Afzal, who come from this section. The Palli Khel sections are clustered in the east and south-east of the Manzai tract round Ahmadwam, Bahadar Khel and Nasin. When the "gurguras," a black berry which is plentiful in this tract, are ripe in the autumn, a large number of kirris of Manzais encamp on the lower plateau which is fairly accessible either from Sarwekai or from Jandola through Kotkai. The *Palli Khels* are divided into two important divisions of Shumi Khels and Dachi Khels. The former includes two important sub-sections, the *Michi Khels* and *Garerais*, and the latter includes the important sections of *Gurri Khels*. The *Michi Khels* owe their importance to their numbers and to

Manzai, a division of the Alizais, and its sub-divisions.

the large area which they occupy in Khaisera and along the Shahur below the Shahur Tangi, and they also owe some of their importance to their well-known and strong leading Malik Shah Salim. The *Garerais* have lately come into notoriety in consequence of their raiding propensities. Most of the men of this section live in the Sega and Potwela glens running up into Pirghal, and a small branch is settled at Ahmadwam in the Manzai country. The Sega and Potwela glens have some lands and pine forest to furnish materials for trade with Tank, but the Gurri Khels have lived mainly by raiding in the Wana direction, especially in Birmal, Shakin and the Upper Dhana. Ahmadwam has no permanent supply of water for cultivation, and the land there has not enough cultivation to live on. The Gurri Khels of Ahmadwam depend largely for their livelihood on thieving in the Gomal and in Spin. A scheme is under consideration to provide this, and a few other Mahsud sections, who have no other means of livelihood except raiding, with land to cultivate in British territory. They are very uncivilised, and never came in to us before 1895. Their Maliks, Kabul, Zaffar and Dawagar, who used to be strong raid-leaders, now render valuable help in restraining their section in Potwela and Sega.

Shabi Khel sub-division of Alizais.

47. The Shabi Khels, the second division of the Alizais, have very little connection with the rest of the Alizais. They live just beyond the Tak Shaman Khels and Galeshahis and mainly among Bahlolzai sections. The Shabi Khels have a large village in the Bannu Tahsil and own a considerable amount of culturable lands there. They trade with the Bannu District. Their relations lie more with the Tochi and Bannu than with Wana and Tank. They have strong towers and settlements in the Gurgura Valley which takes its head in the Bar Pat Range and joins the Shahur almost half-way between Kundiwam and Barwand, but their wealth lies in their flocks and cattle. Siman, the first class Malik, and Khoedar, another well-known Malik, own a good deal of land in Bannu and live there most of the year. The Shabi Khel *badmashes* join with Jalal Khels and Tori Khels of the Shaktu in committing offences in the Tochi and on the Bannu border. Mullah Powindah, the leader of the attack made on the British Delimitation Escort at Wana in November 1894, comes from this section. He maintains a close connection with his section. The Bibizai, a sub-section of the Shabi Khels, spends the cold weather in the north-east of the Shuza Tangi very near the Bhittanni settlements of the Warrikas of Khaisera.

Shaman Khel.

48. The Shaman Khels according to genealogy are divided into four sub-sections, namely,—

(1) the Khali Khels,

(2) the Chahar Khels,

(3) the Galeshahis, and

(4) the Badinzais,

and these again are sub-divided as shown in the Appendices A and B into smaller sections.

The Shaman Khels are again divided into two divisions on the basis of locality of settlements. A few generations ago they were split up into these divisions which are now very distinctly preserved, having no more connection with each other than the Shaman Khels have with the other main branches of the Mahsud tribe. Those living in Maidan (a valley running from the Pirghal Range into the Badar Algad just before it meets the main Shi Tak stream at Dotai), Maidan Tangi, Bangiwali and other places on the Shi Tak are all combined in one branch of "Tak" or hill Shaman Khels. They are some times also called Maidan Shaman Khels. The others who are settled in the Shahur Valley and in its neighbourhood constitute the other branch known as the Shahur Shaman Khels.

Tribal rights and liabilities are now apportioned according to the local or territorial division, but according to the tribal custom the Tak Shaman Khels receive three shares, while the Shahur Shaman Khels receive one share. In all ordinary cases their responsibility is separate according to locality. For offences committed in the Shahur when local responsibility is enforced the Shahur Shaman Khels will be held responsible, and the Tak Shaman Khels will not share with them. This rule was followed in the Shahur Tangi cases in which local responsibility was enforced against the Shaman Khels last year. The Shahur Shaman Khel Maliks tribally are unimportant men, but as our road from the Shahur Tangi to Sarwekai passes through their territory, they are brought into closer relations with us, and acquire a position which they would not otherwise hold tribally.

The Shaman Khels are the least important of the three sections and give us little trouble.

The Badinzai section is wholly included in the Tak Shaman Khels, and lives in the Badinzai Tangi at the base of Pirghal above the Maidan Valley. Their voice counts very little in the tribal councils, and they give little trouble. They follow the leadership of Syad Akbar Shah of Kanigoram, who in former days used to manage all the affairs of the section.

Syads and Urmars.

49. The Syads and Urmars live in Kanigoram and are not of the same stock as the Mahsud tribe. They are descendants of the old inhabitants who occupied the country from Shakai to Razmak and the head of the Darra Valley, in former days, before the Mahsuds came there. They are now, however, regarded as a part of the Mahsud tribe. In our arrangements with the tribe we classed them with the Shaman Khels.

The Syads live in one quarter of Kanigoram in good houses. In the cold weather they spend some months at Tank. Some of their relations have migrated to the Tochi and have settled there. They own lands there and live in the village of Tappi. They have little influence among the Mahsuds. Their leading men are Syad Akbar Shah, Syad Gulbagh Shah, and Dilband Shah. Syad Akbar Shah has always drawn a handsome allowance from us partly in consideration of the services of his father Subhan Shah and partly for the reason that it has been necessary to have an educated man in the capital of the Mahsud country. Gulbagh Shah and Dilband Shah are well disposed men, and are bound to us by considerable interests in Tank. They do not play any part in the hill politics. They formerly rendered good service by supplying intelligence. Even now they give reliable information as to the attitude of the Mahsud tribe and the general feeling in the country, whenever their assistance is invoked.

The Urmars carry on a considerable amount of trade. They have no voice in the Mahsud jirgas. They have to feed the Mahsud jirgas which may meet at Kanigoram They have been employed in supplying us regularly with intelligence of the affairs of the Mahsud country, and some of them have done good service in this direction.

Bahlolzais.

50. The Bahlolzai is the most important branch of the Mahsuds in respect of their relations with us. It is not numerically much larger than the Alizai, but it contains many more turbulent characters than the other two branches of the tribe taken together. Many of the sections are unruly and give a great deal of trouble. This branch is scattered all over the country and among all the sections of the other two branches.

The Bahlolzais are divided into four main sections :—

(1)	Nana Khels,	with 1,485	fighting men.
(2)	Aimal Khels,	„ 1,758	„ „
(3)	Shingis,	„ 585	„ „
(4)	Band Khels,	„ 260	„ „

The Bahlolzais divide their profits and liabilities into ten shares, each of the first three sections taking three shares each and Band Khel one share.

Nana Khel division of the Bahlolzai branch.

51. The Nana Khel sub-sections are very widely scattered, the Nekzan Khels in Khaisera, Abdul Rahman Khels and Gigi Khels in Badar, Abdul Rahman Khels in Spiltoi, Kikrais in Shaktu, Haibat Khels in Shi Tak, Jalal Khels round Babar Ghar, Umar Khels in Makim, Urmar Khels in Khaisera and Jalal Khels at Saruna at the head of the Shuza. The distances between these settlements render daily intercourse impossible, but in any important case all the sub-sections will readily unite. This is a very important and most troublesome section, all its sub-sections are well known and have been frequently dealt with separately. The Nana Khels include—

(1)	Nekzan Khels,	with 175	fighting men.
(2)	Abdul Rahman Khels,	„ 340	„ „
(3)	Jalal Khels,	„ 250	„ „
(4)	Haibat Khels,	„ 213	„ „
(5)	Giga Khels,	„ 140	„ „
(6)	Kikarai,	„ 117	„ „
(6)	Umar Khels,	„ 205	„ „
(8)	Urmar Khels,	„ 45	„ „

The Nana Khels divide tribally into 7½ shares among themselves, each of the first seven sections taking one share each and the Urmar Khel half a share.

52. The Nekzan Khels mostly live in Khaisera. They have some 12 houses in Badar and about as many near Barwand on the Shahur. From their proximity in Khaisera they have close relations with us in Wana. Before we occupied Wana they were very troublesome and some of their men used to be notorious raid-leaders. They committed some serious raids attended with murder in the Gomal and in Zhob. They have now quieted down very much. Our vicinity is a restraining check on them. Their settlements in Khaisera are within striking distance, and they understand that though we do not pass through the valley on our way to Wana, we can occupy it at any time. Unfortunately this impression is growing gradually weaker. During a part of the year their cattle graze round the Tiarza when they come much closer to us in Wana than they do in Khaisera. Besides this, they cultivate the lands of the Ahmadzais on the Toi as their tenants. They have a bitter and old feud with the Khojal Khels and Taji Khels of Wana.

Nekzan Khel, a sub-section of Nana Khels.

53. The Abdul Rahman Khels were in old days the most notorious raiding section of the Mahsuds, and their activity was especially marked in the Gomal. For this very reason when the Gomal was opened and the Mahsuds were granted allowances to maintain peace and order in the Gomal, the Abdul Rahman Khels were granted, at the request of all the other sections, a share in allowances several times as large again as they would have been entitled to either by tribal distribution, the size of the section or by the importance of their Maliks in the tribal councils. Since 1894, the section has received a severe blow in the loss of its most courageous gang leaders; two were imprisoned for seven years each in connection with the murder of Mr. Kelley in 1894; some were killed during the action at Wana in November 1894; and others were taken as hostages and are still detained at Dera Ismail Khan. The section is so much addicted to robbery and plunder that every member of it who can go about armed is considered an habitual dacoit. Of late a few men of the section have been trying to follow the lead of their notorious characters, but endeavours are being made to get hold of them. They have two large settlements, one in Spiltoi and the other in Badar, and most of the Abdul Rahman Khels migrate from one to the other with the seasons. They possess a limited amount of culturable land and few flocks and herds, and still depend a good deal on raiding. In Spiltoi, which is easily accessible from Sarwekai and Haidari Kach, it is difficult to strike an effective blow at the Abdul Rahman Khels or cause them serious loss of property. They live there in caves and have little or no cultivation. In January 1895 when troops visited the valley to punish them they escaped punishment; they had removed their flocks and cattle, the caves could not be blown up, and there was no cultivation belonging to them. They own a tract of land about 4½ miles above Jandola on the road to Sarwekai, and in case of necessity we might bring pressure on them through this land. It is only cultivated, however, every third year. The Spiltoi river meets the Shahur at a very narrow defile through which our road from Jandola to Haidari Kach and Sarwekai passes. Should the Abdul Rahman Khels ever desire to act with open hostility towards Government, they would render the passage through this defile almost impassable except with large escorts picketing the lofty hills along the defile.

Abdul Rahman Khels, a sub-section of the Nana Khels.

They have of old close relations with the Mianis of the Gomal thana limits (Dera Ismail Khan District, Tank Tahsil) and often visit them both openly and secretly, and with their assistance commit offences. With trustworthy secret information good seizures of Abdul Rahman Khels can be made in case of necessity in Miani villages.

In Badar they have an understanding with the Khunia Khels of Shakai. The Abdul Rahman Khels warn the Khunia Khels if they know of any movement against them by other Mahsud sections, and the Khunia Khels warn the Abdul Rahman Khels if there is any movement against them.

54. The Jalal Khel is a large section with about 250 fighting men. They reside mostly at Saruna at the head of the Shuza and have a number of houses at Raznai at the head of the Darra Valley. They depend for their livelihood on—

Jalal Khel sub-section of the Nana Khels.

(1) raiding in the Tochi direction;

(2) flocks and herds;

(3) trading with Bannu and Tank.

Only two of their men are in receipt of allowances, namely, Karim Khan and Kargah Khan. At the time the allowances were distributed due importance does not appear to have been attached to this section, as they gave us little or no trouble on the Dera Ismail Khan border; and the Tochi Valley where they carried out their depredations was then not occupied, and their true character never came to our notice. They committed few serious offences on the Dera Ismail Khan border, in the Gomal or in Zhob, and when they did commit an offence, satisfaction was very easily obtained by putting pressure on

their trading convoys. Since the occupation of the Tochi Valley the relations of this section with ourselves have undergone a change. When we called them to account for the offences committed in the Tochi the account against them increased very rapidly, so much so that they gave up trading openly with Bannu and Tank for the fear lest their trading convoys should be seized wholesale. Reports were received that they had disposed of their camels and bullocks on which they carried their articles of trade. The enquiries which were made, however, showed that they had only transferred their animals to other sections through whom they carried out their trade as usual. They have lately been encouraged to resume their trade with British territory, so that there may be no rupture in their relations with us, and that they may pay off the fines due by them gradually. To prevent the section from raiding in the Tochi is to cut off a means of their livelihood. A scheme is under contemplation to grant them some land in the Tank Tahsil near the Mahsud colony lately established and to induce some of their members to take to agriculture. It is hoped that the formation of a militia corps in Southern Waziristan will furnish a means of livelihood to this section as well as to the other Mahsud sections. The Maliks have little or no control over their section. It is reported that they receive a share of the plunder taken in raids and robberies, but this is uncertain. In former days when we had little or no account against the Jalal Khels they used to camp near Jandola in the cold weather, but now they dare not come there for fear of being arrested. Mir Ajal, the first class Malik of the Nana Khels, has lately made strenuous efforts to improve relations with the section and has succeeded to a limited extent.

Haibat Khel sub-section of the Nana Khels.

55. *The Haibat Khels.*—The first class Malik of the Nana Khels, Malik Mir Ajal Khan, comes from this section. Formerly the name Haibat Khel was given to a number of sub-sections and included Nekzan Khels, Abdul Rahman Khels, Jalal Khels, &c., but it is now limited to a single sub-section. The Haibat Khels live round Suri Manja Kach on the Shi Tak and also close to Shingi Kot. They are a quiet people, and have never given much trouble.

Giga Khel sub-section of the Nana Khels.

56. *The Giga Khels.*—The Giga Khels live mostly in Badar with the Abdul Rahman Khels and have a few houses near Barwand. In the cold weather they come to graze near Sarwekai. They own a part of the Hawan Kach on the Toi close to Wana. Their *kirris* sometimes encamp near the Hawan Kach and Kutina. They are on the whole a well-behaved section and seldom give much trouble.

Kikrai sub section of the Nana Khels.

57. *The Kikrai.*—The Kikrai is a section which lives partly in Khaisera, partly at the head of Badar and partly in Shaktu. Their interests in Khaisera are subordinate to the Nekzan Khels, while the parts of the section residing in Darra and in Shaktu are well managed by the first class Malik Mir Ajal Khan. Fateh Khan is a Malik of the part of the section in Shaktu and is a well disposed man. The Kikrais in Khaisera have had closer relations with us in Wana than their brethren in Shaktu, and receive a much greater share in allowances than the latter.

Umar Khel sub-section of the Nana Khels.

58. *The Umar Khels.*—The Umar Khels live in Makin, and their ordinary interests are more closely connected with the Abdullais and Band Khels whose neighbours they are than with the other Nana Khel sections. Their most influential Malik is Sheikh Amir (*alias* Manki). He belongs to the old Kabul faction. He passes as a religious devotee and accompanied Mullah Powindah to Kabul in 1896, where he was promised a considerable allowance from the Amir. His attitude has always been considered as doubtful. The Urmar Khels are an unimportant section, and live in Khaisera.

Aimal Khels, second main division of the Bahlolzais.

59. *Aimal Khel.*—The Aimal Khels constitute the second main section of the Bahlolzai branch in importance. They live mainly round the base of Pirghal in the various glens from Trikh Kan on the south-west to Makin on the north-east. In the cold weather they come to graze in the Shahur close to Jandola and Haidari Kach. The Aimal Khels are divided into—

(1) Abdulais, with 1,158 fighting strength.

(2) Nazar Khel, " 435 " "

(3) Malik Shahi, " 165 " "

Tribally they divide among themselves into three equal shares, each of the above sub-sections taking one share.

60. The Abdulais live chiefly at and round Makin. They have settlements at Ghozhakai in Khaisera, Kanigoram in Meindesh above Makin, Spin Kamar near Razmak, and at Mandawam in Shaktu. They sometimes commit offences near Jandola. The Abdulais of Mandawam, which is a nest of bad characters, turn their attention chiefly in the direction of the Tochi and Bannu, and commit offences there. The other Abdulais, though they live far away at Makin and do not trade much with Tank, are well behaved. Their Maliks Azim and Fazal, son of Boyak, who is dead, now exercise restraining influence on the section, and have over the section a fair amount of influence which they use on the side of Government. They have only recently realised large amounts on account of fines from their section and have settled the account against it.

Abdulai sub-section of Aimal Khel section of the Bahlolzais.

61. The Nazar Khels live in Do Tangi at the head of the Tarikh Kan stream which flows past Kanigoram on the west side of the town and also on Murdar Algad. They have a few settlements among the Shingis on the Shi Tak. They are a well-behaved section, and commit few offences. Brahmat Khan, the first class Malik of the Aimal Khels, comes from this section.

Nazar Khel sub-section of Aimal Khel section of Bahlolzai.

62. *Malik Shahis.*—They live in Do Tangi, Makin and Razmak, and have a settlement or two among the Shingis on the Shi Tak along with the Nazar Khels. They are like the Nazar Khels well behaved, and commit few offences.

Malik Shahi sub-section of the Aimal Khel section of the Bahlolzais.

63. The Shingis constitute the third main division of the Bahlolzai section. They are well united, as the great majority of them live on the Shi Tak round about Kotkai. There are, however, other settlements of the section near Kanigoram and in the Upper Baddar and Mantoi. Numerically this is the smallest section of the three Bahlolzai sections, namely, the Nana Khels, Aimal Khels and the Shingis. It is the first section which came to have relations with the British Government in early days. They live quite close to Jandola within striking distance, and are well under control. Some of the tribesmen have for some years past owned land in British territory. They are more civilised than any of the other Mahsud sections and understand well our system of working. In consequence of their cultivating closer relations with us at an earlier date and of their proximity to Jandola, their leading men became more pominent than the Maliks of other sections, and have received a larger share of allowances than they were entitled to according to tribal custom. The Kharmach Khel section is the most important of all their sub-sections.

Shingis, the third main section of the Bahlolzais.

64. The Band Khel is the fourth section of the Bahlolzai branch. Numerically they are a very small section. They live at Makin, but apart from the Abdulais. They sometimes join the Abdulai raiding gangs and occasionally raid on their own account across the Amir's boundary in Shakin. The section, however, does not give much trouble.

Band Khel section of the Bahlolzais.

CHAPTER IV.

MALIKS OR HEADMEN OF THE MAHSUD TRIBE.

65. A leading man in the tribe or in a section having some influence over it is called its "Malik." Under the tribal organization, hereditary Malikship was recognized, but apart from the hereditary Maliks, men rose to the rank of Malik who distinguished themselves and obtained influence in the tribal counsels by exceptional bravery and wisdom. Under our system of dealing with the tribe, the tendency is for the appointment of Maliks to become hereditary.

Meaning of "Malik."

66. The selection, grading and general organization of the Mahsud Maliks was revised* at the time of the redistribution of allowances in 1895, the old allowances of the tribe having been forfeited by the misconduct of the tribe in connection with the attack they made at Wana on the escort of Delimitation Commission in November 1894. The previous distribution of allowances made at Fort Sandeman on the occasion of the opening of the Gomal Pass had many flaws in it. Several important sections and individuals had received no share in the allowances at all. Soon after the settlement at Fort Sandeman these sections and individuals began to show their dissatisfaction by committing acts of hostility against Government, and makeshift arrangements were adopted in order to meet the difficulties which consequently arose. The results of the measures which were then adopted to keep things going smoothly for the time being was that the number of Maliks increased, and the amount each Malik received was so much reduced that the allowances failed to have their effect for which they were given. Forfeiture or suspension had little effect, as the loss incurred was small and the majority of the Maliks having little at stake showed themselves indifferent to their responsibilities regarding the behaviour of their sections.

Defects in the distribution of allowances made at Fort Sandeman in 1889.

* *Vide* Appendix F.

67. The redistribution of the allowances granted to the tribe in 1895 after the close of the Mahsud Expedition was made with special reference to the reorganization of the whole scheme of Maliks. The principle which underlay the redistribution of 1895 was that the power and influence of a limited number of leading Maliks in the tribe, and more particularly in their respective sections, should be enhanced by every possible means, so as in the first place to enable them to control their respective sections as effectively as possible, and secondly to enable us to deal with a definite limited number of tribal representatives. It was sought to carry out this object by the following measures :—

Principles on which reorganization of the Maliks as they now stand was made.

(1). During the redistribution of allowances in 1895 the number of Maliks was reduced as far as possible with a view to make more money available for the leading men than would otherwise have been available and to concentrate the power of control.

(2). All the sub-sections included in a large section were placed in the charge of one or two leading Maliks who locally and in correspondence were called first class Maliks. It was arranged that these Maliks should be assisted by the Maliks of their respective sub-sections. The names of the first class Maliks and the sections they are responsible for are given in Appendix C.

(3). It was laid down that Maliks should be taken into the confidence of our officers in the management of the tribal affairs and councils, and the advice of the first class Maliks should be sought frequently in private so as to make them take an interest in the well-behaving of their sections, and look upon themselves as the assistants of Political Officer and agents of Government like other Government servants.

(4). It was also laid down that the smaller Maliks should be interviewed by superior officials through the leading Malik or Maliks of the large section in which their sections are included, so that all Maliks should work together; the influence of the leading Maliks should be strengthened; and jealousies between the leading and the smaller Maliks prevented.

68. We exercise control over the Mahsud country and the tribe only from outside and do not enter the country to carry out police duties there. These duties mainly consist in making arrests of offenders and in enquiring into the charges brought against sections or individuals residing in the Mahsud country. These police duties devolved on the Maliks who, while they performed them, had also as representatives of the tribesmen to look after their interests. The intention was that they should make enquiries, bring the offenders or the sections concerned to account, prove the charge against them, and then represent the tribe and see that their legitimate interests were not neglected. The success of our administration of the tribe under that system depended on the amount of power and influence the Maliks had over their sections and on this power and influence being used on the side of Government. The conditions were not the same as in the case of tribes, such as the Dauris, Wana Ahmadzais, &c., over whom we exercise an internal control. In their case we could visit the villages at any time we desired and arrest ourselves the men we wanted. We occasionally assisted the Maliks by making surprises of the villages of an offending section, by arresting men and convoys of that section when found on the road to or from British territory, and by detaining in jail tribesmen of that section when they happened to fall into our hands. The merits and defects of the system need not be discussed here.

Duties of Maliks.

69. In 1895 when the allowances were redistributed 277 Maliks or headmen were recognised. Before the allowances were redistributed, sixteen leading or first class Maliks were selected with reference to the family claims, strength of character, the position they then had and their influence in sections—five from the Alizai division, five from the Shaman Khels including Syads and Urmars, and six from the Bahlolzais. The subjoined table gives the names of the Maliks and the sections in which each Malik has influence or which has been given to his charge:—

Selection of heading Maliks in 1895 and the sections they control.

Name of Malik.		*Section for which he is responsible.*
		ALIZAI.
(1). Badshah Khan, Salimi Khel	...	Dachi Khel, Shamerai and quarter Malik Dinai.
(2). Shah Salim, Michi Khel	...	Shumi Khel and quarter Malik Dinai.
(3). Badar Din, Langar Khel (4). Muhammad Afzal, Langar Khel	...	Giddi Khel and half Malik Dinai.
(5). Siman	...	Shabi Khel.

SHAMAN KHEL.

(6). Nasir Khan, Chahar Khel (7). Alah Bagh, Khali Khel	... Tak Shaman Khel, Chuhar Khel and Khal Khel.
(8). Fateh Roz	... Shahur Shaman Khels.
(9). Ali Khan	... Gale Shai.
(10). Syad Akbar Shah	... Badanzai Syads and Urmars.

BAHLOLZAIS.

(11). Mir Ajal, Haibat Khel	... Nana Khel.
(12). Fateh Khan (13). Ambri	... Shingis.
(14). Brahmat Khan	... Nazar Khels and Malik Shahis.
(15). Azim (16). Bozak	... Abdulais.

Settlement of Maliks with their relations.

70. Some of the near relations of these and other Maliks were in the receipt of Maliki allowances previously. After the forfeiture of the old allowances such men were not separately recognised as Maliks in the redistribution, and the Maliks whose names were retained were called upon to come to any agreement they liked with their relations at home, it being explained to them that the arrangements made would not be recognised officially. The Maliks who had influential near relations were given the nomination of a Jamadar, Dafadar or Havildar to enable them to provide for their relations by nominating them to those posts. Applications made by Maliks involving the setting aside or modifications of the official distribution of the Maliki and service allowance have been refused, and so far no trouble has followed in consequence of such refusals.

Account and character of leading sixteen Maliks.

71. It will be of advantage to give here a brief account of the leading Maliks and of their character and way of working:—

Bad Shah Khan.—He is the titular head Malik of the Mahsuds His grand-father, Jhangi Khan, was the leader of the raid on the town of Tank in 1860 and was killed during the action with some 200 Mahsuds at the mouth of the Zam pass. His father, Umar Khan, was the chief headman of the whole Mahsud tribe and led the famous raid on the town of Tank in 1879. Bad Shah Khan lives at Nano. He represents the Dachi Khels which include Salimi Khel, Guri Khel, Kanjerai, Dargai and Mal Khel and also Shamirai and a part of the Malik Dinais, in all 530 fighting men. He is well disposed towards us, but keeps aloof from secular affairs and is unwilling to undertake responsibilities. He remains a good deal in seclusion and whenever possible leaves his brother, Adam Khán, to settle tribal matters. Adam Khan is a strong and useful man. In the former arrangements he received a share of Maliki on his own account, but on the redistribution of allowances in 1895 he was struck off the list of Maliks and Bad Shah Khan was called on to settle with him at home. Bad Shah Khan held the nomination of a Jamadarship and nominated his brother, Adam Khan, to the post and let him retain the whole pay of the post. Adam Khan worked as Jamadar for some time, but ultimately he gave up the post to his younger brother. He takes an active part in jirgas, is intelligent and straightforward.

Shah Salim.—He is a Michi Khel and represents whole of Shumi Khel section which includes the Michi Khel, Garerai, Bahadur Khel, Dhanni Khel, Abas Khel, Parha Khel and Khun Khel, and also a part of the Malik Dinais, representing a total fighting strength of 945 men By position, force of character and intellect he is one of the most important of the Mahsud Maliks. He has large influence in Khaisera and still larger below the Khaisera Tangi to near Barwand. The real Malik of the Michi Khels is Khushal who at first had great influence in his section, and so much so that whenever there was an occasion to discuss matters affecting the section or tribe he was carried on a bedstead to the jirga, as he is lame, to give his advice. He is a fanatic however and would not come in to us. His son, Suleman, accepted an allowance from us in the place of his father. Khushal's influence has grown less and less ever since Shah Salim has been recognised by us as a leading Malik of his tribe. Shah Salim generally takes the part of the sections he represents, and in this way he strengthens his hold on them and carries them with him in whatever he does. He is hospitable and looks after the wants of the needy in his section. He takes a very active part in jirgas and renders much assistance in taking up and settling cases for us. He is responsible for the Garerais, a marauding section, but he is unable to restrain them fully Musa is a Michi Khel Malik in Khaisera who opposes him. He had a rival in Alibat, another Michi Khel Malik of Khaisera, but the latter has been murdered lately.

Badar Din.—He belongs to the Langar Khel sub-section, and represents together with another Malik named Muhammad Afzal, the Giddi Khel section which includes his own section the Langar Khel, the Kahi Khel, the Baruni Khel, the Targadda, the Batakai, the Wazirgai and the Faridai, and also a part of the Malik Dinais The fighting strength of all these sub-sections is 1,177. He is a powerful Malik and has a powerful stronghold He has collected around him a body of men mostly well armed who have run away from their own sections in consequence of having committed murders, carried off women or otherwise incurred blood feuds. Badar Din himself has many personal feuds and moves about very little and then only with strong escort of his men. He oppresses the Giddi Khel section living near him and practically levies a tribute from them. He occasionally arranges raids in force against the Abdulais of Makin and other more distant sections. His marauding activity is confined to the Mahsuds. He has not hitherto made raids on the tribes under our political control or committed offences against Government. He is very friendly with Malik Gulbat, Miamai Kabul Khel, of Spinwam, and pays him visits occasionally. It was once stated that Gulbat was going to settle in the Mahsud country with Badar Din. As a rule he does not take an active part in tribal discussions and affairs, but when he does, his method of address carries much weight. His addresses to meetings or to officers are generally lengthy, deep and full of arguments in favor of the objects he supports. His son, Jang Bahadur, is a stalwart young man who generally heads the raids organised by his father. His brother Nek Amal lives apart from him and has been in our service from the first and has performed excellent service on various occasions. At present a feud has sprung up between Badar Din on one side and Shah Salim and Bad Shah Khan on the other. Several attempts have been made by Mullah Dad Muhammad of Marwat and Mullah Powindah to settle it, but without much success.

Muhammad Afzal.—He is the son of the well-known Malik Yarik Khan who, together with Umar Khan, represented the whole Mahsud tribe at one time, and led the raid on Tank in 1879 when the town was set on fire. He also belongs to the Langar Khel section to which Badar Din belongs. He and Badar Din jointly represent the Giddi Khels and part of the Malik Dinais. He interests himself in the affairs of his section and makes up Malik Badar Din's deficiency. He is a man of some acuteness, and can do good work. He takes an active part in tribal jirgas and his counsels to the tribe are generally on the side of moderation and peace. He rendered good service for Government, always assisted our officers in the discharge of their duties, and showed that he had the interests of Government at heart. Badar Din is a self-willed man and an intriguer, and Muhammad Afzal was deliberately supported to counteract his schemes when necessary. Since Muhammad Afzal has been given his present position he has greatly strengthened his power and influence in the tribe. His counsels to the tribe carry much weight and are generally acceptable. Salehin, a second class Malik, is his relation.

Siman Khan comes from the Astanais, a sub-section of the Shabi Khel, and represents the whole Shabi Khel section, the fighting strength of which is 1,270. He is generally occupied in Bannu, where he has lanced property, and seldom goes to the hills, unless he is summoned for important business. He is very intelligent, and his estate in the Bannu district keeps him on our side. He had a blood-feud with Tor, another Malik of his section, who was killed by men hired by him in April 1895. He has now compounded the feud and paid the blood-money to Tor's heirs.

Nasir Khan is a Chahar Khel Shaman Khel. He and Alah Bagh jointly represents the Chahar Khel and Khali Khel sections of the Tak (or hill) Shaman Khel. His cousin, Amin Khan, had a share in the old allowances, and was as influential as Nasir in settling tribal affairs, but on the redistribution of allowances in 1895 his position as a separate Malik was set aside and Nasir Khan was called upon to settle with him at home. Amin Khan was granted a good service allowance of Rs. 10 per mensem in addition to what Malik Nasir Khan was granted as a first class Malik. They held the allowances jointly Nasir Khan is now dead and has been succeeded by his son Muhammad Amir Khan, and the arrangement which was in force in his father's lifetime continues. He and Amin Khan co-operate and work together in tribal matters. Nasir Khan was a well-disposed Malik and worked for many years for Government.

Alah Bagh is a Khalli Khel, and with Nasir Khan's son, Muhammad Amir Khan represents the Chahar Khel and Khalli Khel sections of the Tak Shaman Khel. He has also a cousin named Ghazi Khan, who is and was treated exactly on the same footing as Amin was in relation to Nasir Khan. Alah Bagh is one of the most important Mahsud Maliks. He lives at Maidan. He takes a keen interest in working for Government Owing to his local position he is mixed up to a certain extent with the sections round Kanigoram and Makin. His influence extends beyond his own section. His advice in Mahsud meetings carries much weight. He is a hearty well-wisher of Government and assists the local officers to the best of his ability. He and Ghazi Khan have always remained friendly and worked together. Ghazi Khan is a much more uncertain tempered man, and is less to be relied upon than Alah Bagh.

Fateh Roz is a Kasim Khel Chahar Khel Shaman Khel, and represents the Shahur Shaman Khels. He lives at Turan China on the Shahur, is a man of ordinary intelligence, and his importance is mainly due to our having occupied the Shahur route He is slow and rather indifferent, and requires a good deal of persuasion to work.

Ali Khan.—He was a Baba Khel Datti Khel, and represented the Gale Shah section, which includes the Baba Khel, Kaka Khel, Kikhai and Malta Khel. The fighting strength of all these is 591. Ali Khan was the only Malik of any importance among the Gale Shahis, but has recently been killed. He has been succeeded by his son.

Syad Akbar Shah represents the Syads and Urmars of Kanigoram and the Badanzai section of the Shaman Khel branch. He is in receipt of a handsome allowance partly for the services of his father Subhan Shah and partly for his being an educated man. He concerns himself much with Mahsud affairs and politics. In the hot weather he lives at Kanigoram and spends the cold weather months at Tank. He is intelligent, shrewd and educated, but is an intriguer and schemes to obtain importance for himself. He is a Provincial Darbari. He previously managed all the affairs of the Badanzai section ; now the Maliks of the section, take matters into their own hands. He has two brothers, Sanobar Shah and Muzaffar Shah, who share allowances with him. Sanobar Shah can read and write, and sometimes sends reports from Kanigoram. He is implicated in a blood feud and is unable to go about in the hills freely for fear of his life.

Mir Ajal is a Haibat Khel, and represents the important Nana Khel section, which includes the Haibat Khel, the Jalal Khel, the Nekzan Khel, the Abdul Rahman Khel, the Giga Khel, the Kikrai, the Umar Khel and the Urmar Khel. The fighting strength of the Nana Khels is 1,485, and Mir Ajal is the only first class Malik in the whole of the Nana Khel section, which is more turbulent than any of the other Mahsud sections. He has his hands always full of work. He works thoroughly well, and is entirely on the side of Government. He is, however, ambitious for honors and increase of emoluments. He is rather visionary, and is constantly planning great schemes for dealing with difficult questions in which he is personally concerned. He works honestly, loyally and with the greatest energy to carry out the orders of Government, and is one of the most reliable Maliks. Since 1895 his position and power have been greatly strengthened. He has a son named Jaras Khan, who was educated in the Mission High School, Dera Ismail Khan, and has read up to the Middle School Examination standard. He works with his father in dealing with tribal matters, and is useful in sending written reports of what happens in the Mahsud country. Mir Ajal has great expectations on behalf of his son, but it is feared that nothing sufficient can be done for him in the Mahsud country which will satisfy his expectations. He has recently been recommended to be accepted as a candidate for the post of Naib Tahsildar and to undergo settlement training for one year.

Fateh Khan is a Kharmash Khel Shingi. He and Malik Ambri, who belongs to the Mammi Khel section, represent the whole Shingi section with 585 fighting men. He is an old man who has been for many years in close relation with our affairs. He is a friend of Mullah Powindah, and is addicted to intrigues.

Ambri was a Shingi Malik, who, with Fateh Khan represented the section He was in many ways better than his colleague Fateh Khan. He was simple, though shrewd, and was not given to double-dealing He died lately, and is succeeded by his minor son under the guardianship of his uncle.

Brahmat Khan is a Nazar Khel, and represents the Aimal Khel section with the exception of the Abdulais, *i.e.*, the Nazar Khel and Malik Shahis. The fighting strength of these two sections is 600. Brahmat Khan is the most influential Malik in the Bahlolzai branch. He is well disposed and straightforward. He is a good speaker. Even in the largest Mahsud jirgas he speaks his mind, and this he does quite fearlessly. In this way he has won a peculiar respect for himself. His opinions by virtue of his strength of character carry great weight in influencing the tribe. He is, however, fond of comforts and does not care to make great exertions.

Azim and Boyak.—Azim belongs to the Shamak Khel and Boyak to the Lalli Khel sub-sections. They jointly represent the Abdulai section, the fighting strength of which is 1,185. They are well disposed, and have since 1895 gained much influence over their section and have used it on the side of Government. They try to restrain their section and have succeeded to a certain extent. Boyak has recently died and has been succeeded by his son Fazal.

CHAPTER V.

Our relations with the Mahsud tribe.

72. The history of our relations with the Mahsuds may conveniently be divided into the following divisions :—

The divisions of the history of our relations with the Mahsuds.

I.—The period before the annexation of the Punjab.

II.—From the date of annexation up to June 1861, when a settlement was made with the tribe after the first Mahsud Expedition.

III.—From 1861 to 1866, when a new settlement was made with the tribe after the grant of 25 sowars' service in Militia and some land to cultivate in the Tank tahsil.

IV.—From 1866 to 1874, when the Mahsuds made new agreements after paying full compensation for the past offences and surrendering hostages as security for the good behaviour of the sections in the future.

V.—From 1874 to 1878, when an unsuccessful settlement for the opening and pacification of the Gomal pass was made under tribal arrangements.

VI.—Division 1878 to 1882, when a settlement was made with the Mahsuds after the expedition of 1881 sent to their country to punish them for the burning of Tank in 1879.

VII.—Division 1882 to 1891, the opening of the Gomal pass and its pacification.

VIII—Division 1892 to 1895, when a new settlement was made after the attack made by the Mahsuds at Wana and the termination of the expedition sent to the Mahsud country to enforce compliance with the terms imposed by Government in connection with the attack.

IX.—Division from 1895 to 24th March 1900, when all the cases outstanding againts the Mahsud tribes were disposed of and Rs. 20,000 due from the tribes were paid and arrangements were made for the payment of the balance of Rs. 15,000.

Division I.—Before the annexation of the Punjab.

The behaviour of the Mahsuds before and during the Sikh rule.

73. The general character of the Mahsuds before the Sikh rule is described by Brigadier-General Chamberlain and has been given in the opening paragraph of Chapter II of Section II. The state of things under the Sikh rule was deplorable. Through misgovernment the Chief of Tank became a refugee in the Mahsud hills and his country was farmed out to Multani and Tiwani mercenaries. The Tank Chief made alliances with the Mahsuds by marriage and kept the Tank district in a state of constant disturbance, so much so that it became almost uninhabited. The town of Tank at last contained nothing but its garrison and a few *baniahs*. On one occasion it was attacked and plundered by the Mahsuds when they retained possession of it for three days.

After the first Sikh war the rightful owner of Tank was restored and things returned much to their usual state, the Mahsuds not causing uneasiness as a tribe, but raids were of constant occurrence.

Division II.—Relations from the date of annexation to the end of 1861.

Mahsuds committed raids in the earliest days of our rule.

74. From the earliest days of our rule the Mahsuds were guilty of a long list of raids committed in British territory, and they were in the habit of attacking the Powindah caravans in the Gomal pass, and also when they encamped in British territory in the Tank tahsil.

Proposals for the punishment of the Mahsuds and description of their behaviour to the end of 1860.

75. In 1855 a proposal was made by the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to send a punitive expedition against the Mahsuds, but the proposal was not carried out. In February 1857 a recommendation was again made to punish the tribe, and the Government sanctioned the proposal, but it was again not carried out owing to the circumstances which arose on the outbreak of

the Mutiny. In 1859 Brigadier-General Chamberlain, C.B., then Commanding the Punjab Frontier Irregular Force, writes of the raids of the Mahsuds as follows :—

"In the course of my annual tour I see much of all classes of the people, and nowhere now do I hear the cry for justice until I come within reach of the Waziris. Then commences the train of injuries received and unredressed, and I know of no more pitiable sight than the tears and entreaties of a family who have lost their only means of enabling them to accompany the tribe (Powindahs) on its return back to their summer quarters."

In the five years ending 1860, 184 crimes of a serious nature were reported against the Mahsuds to the police. In addition to these, in March 1855 a Native officer and 12 sowars of the Mounted Police pursuing too far in the hills were surrounded and slain, and later in the same year 3,000 Mahsuds assembled in the Zam pass in front of Tank with the intention of plundering that town, and were only prevented from attacking Tank by the timely advance of troops by forced marches from Dera Ismail Khan. In view of the long list of offences against the Mahsuds, Brigadier-General Chamberlain again proposed a punitive expedition against the tribe, and recommended that it should be carried out before he retired from service. The whole question was discussed at Sialkot, when Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, the Commissioner, Derajat, went out to meet the Viceroy accompanied by the Tank Chief and others of the Derajat; but Lord Canning decided against an expedition, as the border was then quiet as evinced by the fact that the Commissioner had been able to take away all the Chiefs to Sialkot. But before the Commissioner was half way back to Dera Ismail Khan the report of an attempted raid on Tank was received. The Mahsuds without provocation and pretext of any kind descended into the plains to the number of some 3,000, headed by their principal men with the intention of sacking the town of Tank. They were gallantly met by a small party of the Cavalry of the Punjab Irregular Force hastily collected under a Native officer and were repulsed with 300 men killed, including six leading Maliks, and many more wounded.

The first Mahsud Expedition of 1860.

76. This outrage proved that the punishment of the Mahsuds could no longer be deferred. Accordingly an expedition was sanctioned and sent out against them in April 1860. The troops visited the Shahur and went as far as Kanigoram and Makin. They burnt their houses and destroyed their crops wherever they found them. The force, however, left the country without securing the submission of the tribe. A blockade was, therefore, established and all trade with British territory prohibited. It would appear that the blockade had not much effect on the tribe. Though they were excluded from British territory, they obtained their supplies from Daur and Khost. During 1861 they lost no opportunity of making plundering raids into British territory. In June 1861, however, they agreed to the terms offered to them, and the blockade was removed.

New engagement made with the Mahsuds and its principles.

77. Three separate agreements were executed on one and the same line by the three main branches of the Mahsud tribe, *viz.*, the Shaman Khels, the Alizais and the Bahlolzais. The principle which underlies the new engagement is that each main section, *viz.*, Alizais, Bahlolzais and Shaman Khels, will be responsible for the outrages committed by the members of their respective sections.

Agreements made by the Mahsuds in June 1861.

78. The agreement made by the Shaman Khels is quoted below :—

"We, the undersigned Maliks of the Shaman Khels division of the Mahsud Waziris (names omitted), being very desirous to conclude a peace with the British Government, do hereby engage as follows :—

"*1st.*—We undertake to maintain friendly relations with the British Government for the future.

"*2nd.*—If any member of the Shaman Khel Mahsud tribe hereafter commit an offence, directly or indirectly, against the British Government, we shall bear the responsibility as a tribe, and the British Government may exact reparation by seizure of our kafilas or otherwise as may be deemed requisite.

"*3rd.*—Should any member of either of the two other main divisions of the Mahsud, namely the Alizais or Bahlolzais, be guilty of committing an offence within British bounds, he shall not receive aid or shelter from us, neither shall he be allowed to deposit any stolen property in our territory.

"*4th.*—In like manner we promise not to afford shelter to absconded offenders from British territory, whether British subjects or members of other tribes, and especially do we undertake that Khawaja Hafiz, Mamrez, Din and Yar Gul, four of the absconded murderers of the late Captain Mecham, will not be permitted to reside or take shelter within Shaman Khel limits.

"5*th*.—We hold ourselves answerable that there shall be no attacks made by the tribe in strength, nor any open violence by armed men within Government limits. With regard to thefts we cannot in the same manner guarantee that none shall occur, but we will use our utmost endeavours to repress such, and whenever injury has been inflicted within Government bounds by any member of our section, such as murder, theft, incendiarism, &c., the British Government shall be at liberty to indemnify itself from our kafilas of merchandise according to the following scale :—

	Rs.
For blood	600
For a wound or blow causing the loss of a limb or injury equal to it.	200
For slight wound	According to estimated injury.
For incendiarism or other injury ...	According to extent of damage done

"6*th*.—As a guarantee of our good faith, we will place two hostages from our section of the tribe, one with his family and one without, in the hands of Government, to be lodged either at Tank or Bannu, as Government may direct, for the space of one year from this date. If, in the course of that year, no injury or offence is committed by the Shaman Khel section of the Mahsuds in Government territory, the hostages will be entitled to release at the expiry of the prescribed period. In the event of the occurrence of any breach, or of the committal of any offence for which reparation has not already been provided in this treaty, the release or detention of the hostages will be at the pleasure of the British Government.

"Having, as delegates from the Shaman Khel section of the Mahsud Waziris, undertaken to abide by the above conditions, we each and all attach our marks to the paper of agreement, and trust the Government will accept this covenant on our part."

III.—Division from 1861—1866.

Conduct of the Mahsuds immediately after the treaty of 1861 and the action taken. Blockade of the Alizais and Bhalolzais.

79. The Mahsuds had hardly concluded the treaty referred to in the foregoing division before they broke it. They committed several thefts and killed five grass-cutters of the 3rd Punjab Cavalry. In consequence of this all men found in British territory of the Alizai and Bahlolzai sections, which were implicated in the offences, were arrested, and their property confiscated. The Shaman Khel section was not implicated, and it was allowed to trade with British territory freely. The headmen at last professed their readiness under the terms of the treaty to pay a fine of Rs. 4,500 on account of the outstanding cases. A part of the sum was realized by the sale of the animals seized, and the balance was paid by a banker who was to be repaid with interest by a toll on all their pack animals.

Conduct in 1862.

80. They did not, however, discontinue their raids. In 1862 they committed 31 cases of cattle lifting and 4 highway robberies, together with some petty thefts.

Conduct in 1863 and 1864 and attack on Jatta outpost.

81. In 1863 they attacked in force the Jatta outpost, which was then not quite finished, and did some damage, and besides this carried off 905 head of cattle. In consequence of these offences, in August 1863 the Nana Khel and Shingi sub-sections of the Bahlolzais were prohibited from entering British territory. They, however, continued to make raids wehenever they found an apportunity, until in April 1864 they sent a deputation to sue for peace. The Nana Khels, who traded specially with Tank, made their terms through the Nawab of Tank and promised to behave well in future. The Shingis, however, who were fined Rs. 2,772 on account of offences committed by them, refused to come to terms. On this attempts were made at reprisals in order to obtain some compensation for our villages which had been robbed. Rupees 1,359 were collected in this maner.

Recommendation to grant to the Mahsuds service in Militia and lands to cultivate in the Dera Ismail Khan District.

82. In 1865 Major Graham, the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, despairing of doing any thing with the tribe, recommended that service in the Frontier Militia should be given to 25 Shingi horsemen, and that some members of the Shingis should settle on waste lands within British territory. This proposal was sanctioned, and an advance of Rs. 5,000 was granted by Government to carry out the scheme of the colonisation of the Mahsuds.

83. The views of Government regarding the proposal and the attitude to be taken towards the Mahsuds are contained in a despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 30, dated 30th April 1866, which is quoted below at length :—

Views of Government regarding the location of the Mahsuds in British territory, and the Secretary of State's despatch.

" 1. I have perused with much interest the letter of Your Excellency's Government No. 44 of the 8th March 1866, respecting a scheme for the location in British territory of some members of the Mahsud section of the Waziri tribe with a view to tranquillization of that part of the North-West Frontier which is inhabited by those people.

" 2. The experience of the last few years has abundantly shown that in a political, a military and a financial sense the preservation of the peace of the trans-Indus frontier in such a manner as to secure to our subjects permanent immunity from predatory incursions is an object of paramount importance to which the best efforts of your Government should be constantly directed. When I consider the expense incurred in expeditions for the repression and punishment of tribes concerned in such depredations, a course which we have frequently been compelled to adopt during the last ten or fifteen years, and their unsatisfactory results, I cannot but think that an experiment, even if, as you believe, of doubtful advantage, can be otherwise than a good application of the public money. The pacification of border tribes by persevering in the exercise of humanizing influences is more likely to be permanent than their subjection by military force; and I always shall therefore receive with satisfaction such proposals as that now before me, recommended by your officers on the spot, which afford a reasonable prospect of rendering the people on the frontier line between our territories and Afghanistan peaceful and friendly neighbours."

84. When Major Graham came to allot the service to the Shingis he found that the scheme was beset with many difficulties; however, in order to avoid all jealousies and the risks of the scheme breaking down he proposed to distribute the service equally among the three main branches of the Mahsud tribe. The whole tribe entered into a treaty binding themselves to be good friends and neighbours and to restrain their tribesmen from molesting British territory, and in return the 25 sowars were allotted in equal divisions to the three sections and they were invited to send a number of their families to settle on the waste land allotted for the purpose : accordingly in the cold weather of 1866-67 twenty families of the Mahsuds settled on the land purchased with a part of Rs. 5,000 sanctioned by Government.

Distribution of the service and lands sanctioned.

IV.—Division from 1866—1874.

85. For a year or two the tribe behaved on the whole well, but towards the close of 1867 some heavy cases of plunder of camels with one or two of kidnapping of Hindus occurred, which swelled the amount of compensation due from the tribe to about Rs. 8,000. As usual the Shingis and Nana Khel sections of the Bahlolzai branch were the principal offenders, and as usual they were unable to pay up. They were offered a quit settlement of Rs. 2,000 to be paid in full settlement of all pending cases, but it was also rejected. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham had some prisoners of the Bahlolzai section in jail and he determined to retain the prisoners until the section submitted. He summoned the representatives of all the three sections and interviewed them separately, explaining to the Alizais and Shaman Khels that according to our old standing treaty with them each main section would be dealt with separately. They had only a small amount of compensation to pay, they should act up to their engagements with us, settle their own accounts, remain on good terms with the Government, and leave the Bahlolzais to settle their own affairs. To this the delegates agreed, and they were then dismissed. In the same way the Aimal Khel and Band Khel sections of the Bahlolzais were interviewed separately from the rest of the section and advised in the same terms; they also agreed and were dismissed. Lastly, the Shingis and Nana Khel delegates presented themselves, and they were informed that their prisoners would be retained pending the payment of the compensation for the plunder during the year. They were, however, promised that the prisoners would be released after a year if they restrained from committing offences during the period or paid compensation for the offences committed, in which case their liabilities for the past year would be remitted as before. The result of these proceedings was that the Alizais and Shaman Khels chose to remain on good terms with the Government, while the whole Bahlolzai section continued to do mischief. It will be sufficient to give in a tabular form a summary of the offences committed by the tribe each year from 1867 to

Conduct of the tribe after the grant of service and land from 1867—1872 and the action taken.

1872 during which period no important events affecting the settlement with the tribe occurred:—

Year.	*Murder.*	*Dacoity, robbery and house-breaking.*	*Other petty offences.*	*Total.*
1867	... 4	45	77	126
1868	... 1	59	81	141
1869	... 4	51	81	136
1870	... 2	58	78	138
1871	... 4	54	50	108
1872	... ...	49	29	78
Total	... 15	316	396	727

Major Munro, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, describes the state of affairs in 1871 as follows:—

"It does not speak well for the past administration of Tank that human life and property are less secure there than in almost any part of the trans-Indus frontier, and that our relations with the Mahsuds are on a less satisfactory footing than they were during the earlier years of our rule."

The Shaman Khels submitted and made full reparation and surrendered 20 hostages as security for good behaviour of the section in the future.

86. In March 1873 the Shaman Khels, who had been guilty of numerous offences, made full submission to the terms offered by the Government. They agreed to pay a fine of Rs. 3,000 as compensation for the offences committed by them in British territory in the past and brought in 20 hostages to be kept at Dera Ismail Khan as a security for their good behaviour in the future. They consequently entered into a new agreement, which runs as follows:—

Shaman Khel agreement of 1873.

"We, the undersigned Shaman Khel Maliks (names omitted), hereby submit to the British Government (with whom our clan has been at enmity for a long time past and in consequence of which nine of our clan, including Fatehroz, the son of Malik Sarmast Khan, Shaman Khel, had been seized and thrown into prison by the British Government) and do hereby engage as follows:—

"I.—To maintain friendly relations with the British Government for the future.

"II.—To give as a guarantee of our good faith 11 of our most influential Maliks and 9 of less note (in all 20) as hostages for location at Dera Ismail Khan (each of the former to receive subsistence allowance at the rate of Rs. 15 per mensem and the latter at Rs. 10).

"III.—These Maliks or their brothers or sons to continue to remain as hostages at Dera Ismail Khan as Government may order.

"IV.—To pay a fine of Rs. 3,000 as an indemnity for our past offences in British territory against property to be levied in the following way, *viz.*, 1,000 rafters for roofing to be delivered at Tank by the clan and the balance of the fine to be realized on our convoys entering British territory, at the following rates, in the course of two years, half being levied the first year and the remaining half the next year:—

At ½ anna per bullock.

At 1 anna per camel.

If the fine be not levied in two years, as above noted the balance to be recovered from the subsistence allowance of the hostages within each year.

"V.—To allow in future no member of our clan to commit any violent act in British territory, such as dacoity, theft, robbery or murder.

"VI.—That in the event of crime being committed in British territory by any member of our clan, the property plundered shall be restored by the offender or his section; and in the event of their not restoring the stolen property, the hostages of that section shall be held liable to imprisonment or deportation with a view to ensuring the return of the said property, &c.

"VII.—That in the event of any member of the clan murdering or wounding a British subject with sword, stone, shot, or in any other way, the sum of Rs. 600 may be realized by Government for a murder, and Rs. 300 for wounding, either from the actual offender or his section.

"VIII.—On any offence committed in British territory being imputed to a member of our clan, the Deputy Commissioner shall be at liberty to call a 'jirga' of the clan with a view to a settlement of the offence being effected.

"IX.—In the event of any member or section of the clan not acting according to the decision of the 'jirga' or order of Government regarding any of the above offences, the hostages of the clan shall be liable to imprisonment and deportation to wherever Government may direct, until the said decision or order be complied with by the clan.

"X.—The Galishai sub-division of the clan, having heretofore been at peace with Government and in the enjoyment of free intercourse with British territory, are notwithstanding included in this arrangement and will be held similarly responsible for any offences their sub-division may commit in British territory in future. They are, however, in consideration of their past friendship, absolved from paying any portion of the fine imposed on the clan, and are not required to furnish any hostages—those of the rest of the clan engaging voluntarily to be held responsible for the acts or omissions of the Galishais.

"XI.—The names of the superior and inferior Maliks of the clan to be as hostages are (omitted).

"XII.—Lastly, we do hereby declare that Government is at liberty, in addition to requiring full reparation for any offence committed, to inflict any fine it might think fit on any offender or offenders in the clan, according to the nature of the offence they may have committed in British territory, and in the event of such offender or offenders failing to pay the fine, to levy it from the section he or they belong to and failing that from the Shaman Khels generally.

"We the undersigned Maliks of the Shaman Khel branch of Mahsud Wazirs therefore do hereby make this agreement in proof of our sincerity to submit to the British Government, and undertake to abide by the conditions therein contained, and we each and all attach our marks to this agreement."

The Bahlolzais yielded by further pressure and entered into a new agreement in April 1874, surrendering hostages as security for the good conduct of the section in the future.

87. Every pressure was brought to bear on the Bahlolzais, and 73 of their men were detained in the Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu jails. After a year this section also submitted and entered into an agreement on the 28th April 1874 in terms similar to that into which the Shaman Khels had entered. A sum of Rs. 7,085 had been realized on account of compensation for offences committed by them. They then agreed to pay Rs. 3,000 in addition as a punishment for the offences committed in one year and also to surrender 33 hostages to be detained at Dera Ismail Khan as a security for the good behaviour of the section in the future and the due performance of the several terms of the agreement.

V—Division from 1874—1878.

Administration of the Tank and Gomal Ilaqa under Shah Nawaz Khan, Katti Khel, and proposals for its reformation.

88. Almost from the date of the annexation of the Punjab up to 1873 the entire control of the Tank and Gomal jurisdictions was in the hands of Shah Nawaz Khan, Katti Khel, Nawab of Tank, who also conducted our relations with the Mahsuds until Major Macaulay, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, began to take them into his own hands in 1871.

In 1871 proposals were made for the reformation of the administration of Tank, and the state of affairs which then prevailed in the time of the Nawab may well be judged from the following extracts quoted from the then Deputy Commissioner, Major Munro's memorandum, dated the 8th April 1871, written just before making over the district to Major Macaulay :—

"The Nawab's influence with the Waziri tribe was found to be on the wane, and the state of the border politically was less favourable than it had been for many years before. The Nawab alleged that the Mahsuds had been tampered with by some of his ancient enemies, the Mooltani Khans, and some people living within the Tank jurisdiction who bore ill-will towards himself from their having adhered to the opposite faction, or in connection with his own administration." · · · · · "The Nawab's intellegence department is also starved down to the lowest pitch of inefficiency. His pecuniary embarrassments prevent

him from rewarding good service or even paying his establishments adequately. Promptitude of action is not to be expected on occasions of emergency, so frequent in Tank under such circumstances, and the consequence is that, progress flags, the people are disheartened and crime of the heaviest kind occasionally becomes rampant. It would be unjust to the Nawab not to mention some of the difficulties which he has to contend with. The features of the country and its proximity to one of the most warlike frontier hill tribes facilitate the operations of the hill robber the character of the Mahsuds as distinguished from most other hillmen, their being on secret terms with Bhittannis whose movements in Tank are free; the existence of a broken country of ravines between the principal towns in Tank and the frontier line rendering the concealment or escape of criminals of such easy accomplishment; complications caused by Powindah feuds leading to retaliations for offences committed often in foreign territory. These amongst other causes operate largely in rendering the police administration of Tank anything but a sinecure.

"I have not touched upon the position which the Nawab of Tank would hold under a better system of administration such as is unquestionably needed. A revision of the settlement of his pargana, the adjustment of his various claims after due investigation might possibly result in his position being ameliorated in a pecuniary point of view. He has had a very difficult task to perform from first to last. His fidelity to our Government has not so far, as far as I am aware, been called in question. He has on various occasions since British annexation given proof of fidelity and good service, and in these circumstances it will be admitted that he has great claims to consideration. I doubt his capacity ever to administer the Tank ilaqa with success judging from past experience, and whilst I think the maintenance of his position as Nawab and Honorary Magistrate in Tank is demanded as due to his hereditary status in the ilaqa and the work and service performed by him since British annexation, I would at the same time urge an early revision of Tank establishment, with a view to their being placed upon a good and workable footing under the direction, at least during the winter months of each year, of a selected European officer with whom the Nawab might be associated without indignity in administering with advantage one of the most troublesome corners of our trans-Indus frontier."

Taking of the administration of the Gomal and Tank ilaqa from the Nawab of Tank, and its reformation.

89. As a consequence of these representations, the administration of the police from 1873 was gradually taken out of the hands of the Nawab and assumed by the Deputy Commissioner himself, who also took the management of the hill tribes into his own hands. During the four years from 1873 to 1876 much vigorous action was displayed and many important measures were adopted in connection with the Tank border and our relations with the Waziris, but these were mostly either of a preventive or of a repressive and coercive nature. Measures for the reorganization of the Frontier Militia, the establishment of the Border Military Police and the apportionment of the responsibility for the different passes were carried out; new posts were constructed and established. The posts of Manjhi Girni, Tank Zam and Kot Khirgi were held by Military, while Murtaza, Kot Khirgi, Kot Nasran, Mullazai and Bain Dara were garrisoned by Militia. Special Powindah police was sanctioned at the annual cost of Rs. 4,880 and stationed at Gomal. Regular police were also introduced in the Tank ilaqa where at first the Nawab of Tank was responsible for the judicial, revenue and police duties.

Kidnapping of a Hindu child in 1877 and blockade of the whole tribe.

90. In August 1877, however, an offence was committed which led to the blockade for the first time of the tribe as a whole. On the night of 12th August 1877 a Hindu child was carried off by a small party of malcontents who refused to restore it except for a large ransom. Accordingly on the 26th August tribal property to the value of Rs. 15,000 was seized, and the Bhittannis acting up to their engagements closed their passes, so that no Mahsud could venture through them; but it was not until the 18th March 1878 that, driven by the pressure of the blockade, the boy was restored.

Intrigue of the Amir of Kabul with the trans-border tribes of North-Western Frontier and the instructions of Government to cultivate relations with those tribes.

91. At this time our relations were strained with the Amir of Kabul, and the strain culminated in the Afghan War in 1879. He had been for some years past intriguing with the trans-border tribes of the North-Western Frontier, and especially the Mahsuds, the headmen of which tribe had been in the habit of visiting Kabul receiving presents from the Amir. Their attitude towards the British Government was unsatisfactory. In September 1878 the Government of India, in view of the above circumstances, issued urgent instructions directing that no efforts should be spared to detach from all political connections with the Afghan Government those independent tribes on our border whom it was most important on either military or political grounds to bring permanently under our own influence to the exclusion of that of the Amir.

"VIII.—On any offence committed in British territory being imputed to a member of our clan, the Deputy Commissioner shall be at liberty to call a 'jirga' of the clan with a view to a settlement of the offence being effected.

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92. Captain Macaulay, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, who was called upon to submit proposals in respect of the tribes on the border of his district, suggested that in order to secure more complete control of the Mahsuds they should be granted land in British territory on condition of undertaking the responsibility of the Gomal Pass and be also granted service to the extent of 50 horsemen and 100 foot to maintain peace in the pass. He also pointed out that on the Gomal being pacified the Government would be entitled to take pass dues from the Powindah traders who use the route, and that the sum realized from such dues would probably more than recoup the cost of the service proposed.

Proposals of local officers to carry out instructions of Government in regard to cultivating friendly relations with the Mahsuds.

93. These proposals met with the approval of Government and were immediately sanctioned. The Deputy Commissioner was directed to make the necessary arrangements. Major Macaulay immediately on receiving the sanction proceeded to Tank and summoned the headmen of the Alizai, Shaman Khel and Bahlolzai branches of the Mahsud tribe. Most of the headmen of the two latter branches responded to his summons, but Umar Khan, Yarak Khan, the two leading Maliks of the Alizai branch, did not attend. The former of these, who was really the head Malik of the whole tribe, was actually at Kabul intriguing with the Amir at the time Major Macaulay was carrying out his arrangements with the tribe. It appears that Umar Khan had always remained a discontented factor in the tribe. It is a characteristic of the Mahsuds' discontent that when all other methods fail they either resort to outrage as the means of putting forward their grievances, or if they consider such a course hopeless at the time, they sit sulky awaiting their opportunity. Umar Khan, it will be seen further on, resorted to the first course.

Proposals sanctioned, and the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements.

94. The Deputy Commissioner distributed pay and service allowances among the Mahsuds to the amount of Rs. 1,251 per mensem, withdrew their hostages who had been kept at Dera Ismail Khan to Tank, and settled them along with about 200 other Mahsud families on the lands which were purchased for the purpose in the Gomal Valley. The Mahsuds, in return, undertook responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the Gomal Pass. Having done this, Major Macaulay started on the 26th November 1878, escorted by the Mahsuds headmen, to inspect the Gomal Pass with a view to fixing the places where they should put their *chaukis* (posts) for guarding the pass. He went beyond the junction of the Zhob and Gomal rivers, and from the spur of a hill had a view of the country up to the place where the Kundar meets the Gomal. He recommended the improvement of the road over the Gwelri Kotal in the Gomal Pass. This was immediately sanctioned. The Powindahs were taxed one anna per head of camels, from the proceeds of which the road was ordered to be repaired.

Distribution of the allowances to the Mahsuds and of the lands purchased for the purpose, and the Mahsuds undertaking the pacification of the Gomal Pass.

VI—Division from 1878—1882.

95. At this time entire peace prevailed on the Tank border. It was reported in the Administration Report that the Tank border was never before in so satisfactory state as it was then, never had life and property within the valley itself been so secure as they had been within the previous three years since the introduction of the new measures, but the state of affairs was a good illustration of the natural phenomenon that "calm precedes a storm." The storm broke suddenly, and all the large schemes which had been started and pushed on so vigorously were brought to an untimely end by the raid made by the Mahsuds on the town of Tank on the 1st of January 1879, which for audacity has been rarely paralleled in the history of the frontier. It was directly due to instigation from Kabul. Malik Umar Khan, Alizai, the leading Malik of the Mahsud tribe, returned from Kabul in December 1878 with instructions from the late Amir Sher Ali Khan to collect the Mahsud tribe and endeavour to incite them to hostilities against Government. On 1st January 1879 the Mahsuds descended in a body estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 strong, passing down the Zam, and advanced on Tank. On reaching there they burnt the bazar and many of the houses and carried off such property as had been left behind by the Hindu population, who had taken refuge in an old fort adjoining the town. The Mahsuds however killed no one, except a woman of their own tribe who had eloped and was living at Tank. They then retired and regained the hills without molestation before any troops could intercept them. The raiders belonged chiefly to the Alizai clan, although the Bahlolzais and Shaman Khels also joined in the raid. A large number of Powindahs, Bhittannis and many British subjects belonging to the small Miani and Ghorezai tribes took the opportunity to raid on their own account. In the confusion and disorder several border villages were plundered and destroyed. The Jatta police post was burnt and the Gomal bazar was pillaged. Our troops moved out at once and restored order.

Peace which prevailed on the Dera Ismail Khan border in 1878 was broken by the burning of the town of Tank by the Mahsuds.

96. After full consideration of the circumstances the Government of India decided in July 1879 that the following terms might be offered to the Mahsuds, and if these were accepted and the whole tribe without any sectional exception submitted, peace might be offered to them, *viz.*—

Terms of peace given to the Mahsuds after the burning of Tank and their failure to comply within the time allotted.

(1) The payment of fine of Rs. 30,000.

(2) The payment of a sum of Rs. 67,000 as compensation for the burning of Tank and for all property plundered or destroyed.

(3) The surrender of Umar Khan, Yarik Khan and Matin (Alizais) and Mashak, Boyak and Azmat (Bahlolzais).

The Mahsuds were given grace up to the 15th September 1879 within which time they should give their reply or tender their submission. They, however, continued refractory and failed to comply with the terms, and coercive measures became necessary.

97. The Military authorities were requested to report on the military measures necessary to be adopted to enforce the demands of Government. The Afghan War was then in progress, and as it was inconvenient for Government to provide the troops required for the adoption of coercive measures, the enforcement of the demands had to be deferred nearly 18 months. In the meanwhile a strict blockade of the tribe was maintained. The Mahsuds, however, did not cease from committing aggressions on the Tank border and since the raid on Tank there was not a month which did not witness some serious offence committed by their marauding bands.

Coercive military measures were decided on, but they had to be deferred for the time being: the Mahsuds notwithstanding the blockade continued to commit serious offences.

In 1880 a large band collected by the preaching of Mullah Adhkar, a bigot exercising great influence over all clans and sections of Wazirs from Kurram to Makin, again attempted an attack on Gomal, but their plan was rendered abortive by the despatch of timely reinforcement to the Jatta, Manjhi and Murtaza posts. Besides this they committed a number of serious cases of robbery and murder and cattle-lifting as in the previous year. These offences raised the amount of compensation to be demanded from them from Rs. 67,000 to Rs. 72,947.

98. At the close of the Afghan War the question of the punishment of the Mahsuds was taken up again, and a military expedition was sanctioned in March 1881. Brigadier-General T. G. Kennedy, C.B., was appointed to command the expeditionary force, which was composed of two columns, and Major Macaulay was appointed Political Officer to the force. The troops assembled at Tank in the beginning of April 1881. The Mahsuds seeing that further procrastination would only lead to severe punishment sent in a deputation. They surrendered four out of the six proclaimed offenders, *viz.*, Umar Khan, Matin, Azmat and Boyak, and Hashim, son of the fifth, namely, Yarik, who they stated was too ill to come in himself. Mashak, the sixth offender, did not surrender nor did the Nana Khel section to which he belonged attend on the Political Officer. The Mahsud jirga submitted a petition offering to provide all sorts of facilities and to render every assistance in securing the communications of Government troops if they entered the hills for the purpose of enforcing the attendance of the absentees. They also offered as hostages any of the Maliks and Chiefs who were then with the Political Officer until the return of the troops. With regard to the payment of fine and compensation due from the tribe, they expressed their willingness to consent to any agreement which the Government might consider desirable to take from them after taking their miserable condition into consideration. As the Nana Khel section continued to hold out and Mashak did not come in, on the 12th April a proclamation was issued giving one week for Mashak to surrender and the Nana Khel section to submit. No satisfactory reply was received within the time allotted, and the troops marched from Tank on the 18th April. Two columns were sent against the Mahsuds, the main column went from Jandola *viâ* the Shahur and the Khaisera Valley to Kanigoram and returned *viâ* Tank Zam to Tank, while the second column went from Bannu *viâ* Khaisera to beyond Razmak and returned by the Shaktu Pass. Mashak's hamlet was visited and his house and crops were destroyed. The Nana Khels of Shaktu came in and surrendered to the Political Officer at Makin, and a number of men of the section were made prisoners The troops returned to British territory without obtaining the surrender of Mashak after an absence of two months, but the blockade of the tribe continued.

Military punitive expedition sanctioned in 1881 and sent to the Mahsud country, and the compliance with the terms.

99. Just when the troops were leaving the Mahsud country, emissaries from the Amir of Kabul under one Mozulla Khan, Durani, arrived at Kanigoram with a letter inviting the Mahsuds' headmen to come to Kabul and to entrust the settlement of their differences with the British Government into the hands of the Amir and promising if they did so he would obtain the release of their prisoners and conclude a peace on favourable

The Amir sends emissaries to the Mahsud country to induce the tribe to entrust their case to the Amir just when the troops were leaving the Mahsud country.

terms. This letter held out other inducements for them to visit Kabul. Mashak and Yarik, the two of the proclaimed raid-leaders who had not yet surrendered themselves, and a number of minor Maliks responded to the summons of the Amir and went with Mozulla Khan to Kabul. The most influential men who had the interest of the tribe at heart wished to make peace with Government without the intervention of the Amir. The effect of the expedition was yet fresh on their minds. Four of the ringleaders had already surrendered and a son of the fifth was a security with us for his father, and besides this we had in our custody over one hundred leading Nana Khel and other Maliks as hostages. The conditions were such as to put great pressure on the tribe. The Maliks disapproved of the deputation to Kabul, and on the 28th June compelled Mashak's son, Mashrab, to come in and surrender himself. The security in our hands was sufficiently large, and no doubt the Amir saw this. He after concluding a vague treaty with the Mahsuds wrote a mild letter of intercession in their favour to the Government of India and dismissed the Maliks with small presents. The result was that they all returned home disheartened.

Mashak, one of the offenders in the Tank raid case, surrendered and Yarik came in himself.

100. Shortly after their return on the 7th of September 1881 Mashak was bound hand and foot by his clansmen and brought in and made over as a prisoner to the police at Tank.

Shortly afterwards Yarik came in himself and surrendered. All the six ringleaders were then sent to Lahore to be detained there under the provision of Regulation III of 1818.

Proposals made at the end of the expedition to punish the Mahsuds.

101. With regard to the other terms of peace the following proposals were made by Major Macaulay at the termination of the expedition, and sanctioned by Government :—

I.—Eighty hostages of the tribe to be located at Dera with their families on Rs. 12-8-0 per mensem each : total Rs. 1,000 per mensem.

II.—These hostages to be invested with the powers of "Chelwaistis" by the tribe, so as to enable them to carry out the wishes of their tribe as Police Officers, without liability to retaliation for anything done in the execution of their duty.

III.—Selected Mahsud families to be settled on Government land in British territory on the condition that the tribe becomes responsible for the peace and security of the Gomal route through Mahsud limits. The land so granted to be held revenue-free for the first five years.

These proposals were sanctioned.

VII—Division from 1882—1891.

Amir of Kabul again tries in 1883 to induce the Mahsuds to accept his rule.

102. After the expedition the Mahsuds behaved well for some time and nothing eventful occurred until in 1883 the Amir repeated his endeavours to gain over the Mahsuds to surrendering their independence, permitting the construction of posts in their country and agreeing to pay him a tithe of their crops. He sent two agents to carry out his objects, but he met with no better success than in 1881 and the agents returned unsuccessful.

Conduct of the Mahsuds since the expedition reported to be good and the men detained in connection with the burning of Tank, &c, released in 1884.

103. In January 1884 Mr. Thorburn, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, represented that the general good conduct of the tribe since the expedition had been most marked; and it was decided by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in a Darbar held at Tank on the 10th January 1884 that four political detenues, *viz.*, Umar Khan, Matin, Boyak and Mashak, should be released unconditionally. Accordingly they were released and sent back to the hills : the remaining two political detenues, Yarik and Azmat, had died at Lahore in 1883.

Conduct of the Mahsuds after the release of Maliks and placing of restrictions on the means of intercourse of the Mahsuds with British territory.

104. The Mahsuds again commenced to commit offences on the Tank border. In the four months from February to May 16 serious cases of thefts of camels and cattle and dacoity were committed, 10 of these being in one month April. The result was that the Deputy Commissioner blockaded, so far as the Mahsuds were concerned, all routes from independent to British territory with the exception of the Tank and Gomal Passes and gave orders for the detention till sunrise of all Mahsuds found wandering at night in the district. This step was taken, because the Bhittannis who were called to account by virtue of their pass responsibility for the offences committed by the Mahsuds complained that whilst by rule only the Gomal and Tank Zam Passes were open for Mahsud traffic, individual and parties used the small passes for purpose of theft and so increased the Bhittannis' responsibility. These measures apparently had a good effect in checking ordinary crime to a certain extent.

105. In 1885 the Defence Committee appointed to consider the defences of the North-Western Frontier of India recommended as one of the measures for defence the occupation of the Gomal Pass by a strong fortified work, the connection by road of that work with Dera Ismail Khan, and the exploration of the pass upwards towards Zhob and Peshin; and this was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government. The opening and pacification of the Gomal Pass are a measure which was recommended several times before, but for reasons different from those which now led to its acceptance. It was at first proposed by Major Macaulay in 1872 with the object of reclaiming the predatory Mahsud tribe, and thus diminishing the crime on the borders of the Dera Ismail Khan District; but the proposal at the time was dropped owing to complications arising from the state of our political relations with Kabul. Major Macaulay subsequently took every opportunity of pressing the measure, but nothing was practically done in this direction until it came to be recommended by the Defence Committee. The carrying out of the measure was even now delayed for some reason or other, until in 1887 Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India moved in the matter again and directed the Government of India that the Gomal Pass should be surveyed as soon as possible with a view to a site being fixed on for a defence work as proposed by the Defence Committee. On this the Government of India ordered the thorough exploration of the Gomal Pass to be undertaken as soon as practicable. In forwarding the correspondence to the Punjab Government they, while pointing out that it might be too late to attempt the work in the spring of 1887, asked that the subject might receive immediate attention in order that all arrangements might be completed in time to admit of the work being undertaken in the autumn of that year as soon as the season should permit.

Opening of the Gomal Pass recommended as a measure of defence of North-Western Frontier.

Opening of the Gomal Pass by tribal arrangements decided.

106. There were two ways to carry out the exploration of the Gomal Pass :—

(1) Under tribal arrangements.

(2) With a force capable of resisting any opposition that might be offered.

In view of the state of relations with the Kabul Court and of the Ghilzais then being in open rebellion against the Amir of Kabul and of the uncertainty of the attitude of the tribes living beyond the portion of the Gomal Pass dominated by the Mahsuds, the first of the above ways, after much discussion, was adopted.

Mr. Ogilvie, the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, was asked to report on the measures necessary for the protection of an exploring party and his making the preliminary exploration himself.

107. Mr. Ogilvie, then Deputy Commissioner, was directed to take the necessary measures for the exploration of the pass in hand at once, and to report the measures required for the security of the exploring party. He on receiving instructions went himself to Tank, and as a preliminary to the carrying out of the more detailed negotiations, proceeded himself to make a rapid exploration of the Gomal Pass as far as the junction of the Zhob with the Gomal river. He was accompanied by leading Mahsud headmen and a small party of Nasir Powindahs and Police, and came back to Tank in four days without encountering any difficulty.

The Mahsuds, Zalli Khels, Dotannis, &c., undertook the responsibility of the survey exploration party by written agreement.

108. On his return to Tank he entered into negotiations with the tribes for the prosecution of detailed survey and exploration. The Mahsuds had no real objections to the proposals, but wanted first to hear what allowances Government was prepared to give to them for permanent responsibility in connection with the pass. They were at last persuaded to agree to the Government proposals and submitted two agreements undertaking responsibility for the safety of the exploring party and agreeing to the opening and pacification of the Gomal Pass.

The agreements tendered by the tribe on the 20th October 1887 are quoted below :—

I

"Whereas the Deputy Commissioner has now informed the Mahsud tribe that the Government desires to have the Gomal Pass surveyed and inspected by two military officers with their followers, and that the survey may be executed by the assistance of our tribe, the Mahsuds being responsible for safety and keeping of the peace, we the undersigned after full consideration agree to and accept this proposal. We agree, on behalf of the whole Mahsud tribe, that we are responsible for the safety of the said officers, together with their followers, camp, &c. Moreover, we agree to be responsible for doing the necessary work, such as carrying dâk and furnishing escort for supplies. For the satisfaction of Government we shall hand over to Government special hostages of our tribe who might be kept at Gomal, Tank or wherever Government desires. The plan for guarding the camp will be this. From each of the three clans, Alizais, Bahlolzais and Shaman Khel, 50 men armed with swords and guns, in all 150, men will be employed as

footmen ; 12 horsemen, being influential Chiefs of the tribe, will accompany the said officers and will also look after the footmen. The pay of the footmen will be 6 annas and that for the horsemen 12 annas per head per diem. The whole work of the camp, such as guarding, escorting and carrying dâk, shall be performed by the said employés. They shall make their own arrangement for their food and supplies. Nothing shall be demanded from Government in addition to the fixed pay. We therefore present this petition that it may be accepted."—*Dated 1st Safar* 1305 *Hejira*=*19th October* 1887.

II

" Whereas the scheme of Government for the pacification of the Gomal Pass has been made known to us, and the Deputy Commissioner has inspected the pass in company with a full jirga of the Mahsud tribe, the Government proposal is in every way agreeable and acceptable to the whole Mahsud tribe. Therefore we Maliks on behalf of the whole Mahsud tribe agree as follows :—

The Gomal Pass is an Imperial road, but the Mahsud tribe has been dominant over it from old times. The Mahsud people have it in their power to rob travellers. We now agree that the pass be guarded by means of employés of the Mahsud tribe according as the Government wishes. If Government employs sufficient men of the Mahsud tribe for the safety of the pass, the whole tribe of the Mahsuds will remain responsible for it, that is to say, no robbery shall be committed in this pass either by the Mahsud or any other tribe. The pass will, moreover, remain always open without danger or hindrance. Whenever the officers of Government desire, they will safely, and on our responsibility, go up and come down the pass as far as the Mahsud power and domination extends. We therefore write this petition as an agreement for the information of Government."—*Dated 1st Safar* 1305 *Hejira*=*19th October* 1887.

Similar agreements were also taken from the Zalli Khels, Dotannis and Suleman Khels for the protection of the exploring party beyond Kajuri Kach.

Exploration party went into the Gomal, but it returned unsuccessful.

109. Mr. Ogilvie and his party started from Dera Ismail Khan on the 6th February 1888. A small body of police accompanied the party as a guard to the camp, and the Deputy Commissioner also took with him a few native gentlemen of the Dera Ismail Khan District. The whole party arrived at Tank on the 8th February. Here a large number of Mahsuds were found collected, their numbers eventually amounting to from two to three thousand armed men. The attitude of the tribe from the first was not satisfactory. They had brought down in the jirga two criminals (Marwats) who had escaped from our territory. These the Deputy Commissioner had seized, and the same evening they were sent back to the hills. On the night of the 9th a murder was committed in a village near Tank, for which the Mahsuds were held to blame. The presence of such a large concourse of armed men in the city was a source of danger, and at one time it looked as if it would be necessary to use force to disperse them. Moreover the Mahsuds made impracticable demands, and the negotiations threatened to break down altogether. These difficulties were, however, eventually got over, and the negotiations brought to a conclusion, and on the 20th February the party moved to Gomal, where the camp was pitched outside the village near the Police station. During the night three shots were fired into the camp. The perpetrators of this outrage at once decamped to the hills covered by the darkness, but they were known to belong to the Abdul Rahman Khel section of the Mahsuds, who were dissatisfied with the arrangements made with the tribe. In spite of this occurrence, the Deputy Commissioner considered it was still practicable to go on, and the expedition started on the 21st February and halted on that day at a place about a mile beyond the border. About 800 Mahsuds accompanied the party, and there was some pilfering of supplies. The following day at Nili Kach a riot took place between the Mahsuds and Zalli Khels accompanying the camp, in which several men were severely wounded. On the morning of 23rd February the Mahsuds were told that either they must instantly reduce their numbers or that the expedition would withdraw. There was a pretence of obediedce, but it soon appeared that the hills were full of robbers, and tribal resistence was being organised. That night several shots were fired into the camp from the neighbouring hills, and the next morning it was decided to retire. The retirement was carried out by the Sheranna Pass, and the Mahusds were ordered to move off by the Gomal route.

The failure of this expedition was attributed to various causes, the principal being the anarchical condition of the tribe, their poverty and the weakness of the expedition. The temptation for extortion no doubt was too great for their nature to withstand. The Commissioner of the Derajat, in reporting the failure, recommended that the survey and permanent pacification of the Gomal Pass should be carried out with a military force during the winter of 1888-89, but the consideration of the matter was postponed, and nothing was done in this respect until 1889.

110. As a punishment for the Mahsuds failing to act up to their engagements for the offences committed by them during the march of the expedition from Tank to Nili Kach, and for their doubtful and menacing attitude at a later stage, which necessitated the abandonment of the expedition, the eighty hostages who had been entertained at a cost of Rs. 1,000 per mensem since the expedition of 1881 were dismissed and sent back to the hills in April 1888. The Mahsuds were informed that the saving effected by the dismissal of the hostages would be applied to the payment of the expenses of the abortive expedition and of the compensation due in respect of the offences committed in its connection; and that if during the period throughout which this method for the adjustment of the expenditure incurred was maintained they kept their bad characters in hand and conducted themselves generally in a peaceable manner, no other punishment would be inflicted, they would be free to come and go as heretofore and would continue to have their sowars and enjoy their rent-free land. Thereafter the question of the hostages would be reconsidered. They were at the same time warned in the clearest terms that if they acted foolishly under the idea that they could put pressure on Government by committing offences and giving trouble on the border, their sowars would be reduced and lands resumed and further punishment would inevitably follow. In reply to the enquiry made by the Mahsuds, they were informed by the Deputy Commissioner that if they absolutely restrained their bad characters from committing offences for the period of six months, the Government would after that time be prepared to give favourable consideration to their petition for the restoration of the forfeited emoluments.

Punishment of Mahsuds for failing to act up to their agreements in connection with the Gomal Survey Expedition.

111. After the return of the Gomal Expedition, as the Mahsuds had proclaimed their intention of attacking the Bhittannis and driving them out of the hills on account of the assistance which they had given to the Deputy Commissioner in connection with the expedition, they were warned that though we did not intend to interfere in private disputes and inter-tribal matters in the hills, yet if they attacked the Bhittanni tribe in force on account of their loyal behaviour towards Government, their action would be regarded as a serious offence against Government, and would postpone indefinitely the day of their own restoration to favor. After the dismissal of the hostages, when the Mahsud representatives returned to the hills, arrangements were made for the assemblage of a large tribal jirga at Kanigoram to discuss the situation.

The Mahsuds warned not to attack the Bhittannis in force in return for the assistance they had given to the Deputy Commissioner in the Gomal Pass.

112. But before the jirga met on the 10th of July emissaries from the Amir of Kabul were at work in the tribe. Three letters were said to have been addressed to the three main sections of the Mahsuds and to have been brought by individuals belonging to the Darwesh Khel tribe. Mulla Gulab Din, of the Bannu District, visited Kanigoram, and was reported to have used his influence to induce the Mahsuds to respond to the Amir's invitation. The result was that at the tribal jirga held on the 10th July it was decided to send a deputation from the three sections of the tribe to visit the Amir at Kabul. It was also decided that they should await the result of the visit to Kabul before taking any action one way or the other in regard to the relations existing between the tribe and the British Government.

The Amir again tried to win over the Mahsuds, and a Mahsud deputation visits him at Kabul, but it returns disappointed.

The deputation, however, did not meet with much encouragement, and returned disappointed in the end of September 1888.

113. From the date of the dismissal of the hostages in April 1888 to the end of that year the general conduct of the tribe was on the whole good. They committed only 19 offences, mostly of an unimportant nature, during this period. Two only were serious—one a robbery of Government arms and property from the military post at Manjhi on the night of 5th June 1888, and the second a highway robbery on the Tank road attended with the murder of a British subject on the last day of August. Besides these offences, they made an attack on a hamlet of the Bhittannis located in the Shuza Pass beyond the border. The attacking party numbered about 300 men belonging chiefly to the Abdur Rahman Khel and Shingi sections, and was led by the same notorious characters whose hostility was shown at Gomal before the starting of the Survey Expedition. This and other offences were the acts of individuals or of small parties of robbers, and were committed independently without the support of the tribe as a body.

Conduct of the Mahsuds in 1888.

114. Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., took charge of the district in May 1888, and with his coming things appear to have changed for the better. The Government arms and property stolen from the Manjhi post in June 1888 were restored; two reputed offenders in the case of the highway robbery committed on the Tank road just mentioned above were surrendered. All the outstanding cases since March 1888 were settled. What was the most important proof of the good conduct of the tribe and of their contrition was the rendition of the two Marwats named Kaka and Walli, who had escaped from police custody, had taken refuge with the tribe in their country and were

The behaviour of the Mahsuds in the last quarter of 1888 and the first quarter of 1889.

brought down with the tribal jirga to Tank before the starting of the Gomal Survey Expedition. It may be noted here that the rendition of refugees is an act of unequivocal submission, and a most valuable political precedent as the surrender of refugees is opposed to all the traditions and feelings of a Pathan tribe, and there could be no surer test of the degree to which the insolent pretentions of the Mahsuds had been humbled by the policy of Government than the fact that they had been forced to do this act in the hope of regaining favor.

The Mahsuds re-admitted to Government favor and granted allowances, and formation of representative jirga.

115. In view of these facts, the local officers recommended that the Mahsud were fairly entitled to claim re-admission to favor and that their forfeited emoluments, amounting to Rs. 1,000 per mensem, should be restored from 1st of April 1889. It was proposed that the allowance should be given in the form of payment for service to be rendered for the time being on the border posts, the nominations for service being bestowed on the tribal representatives and the division of the allowances being made in accordance with the recognised rules of tribal partition and custom.

The Mahsuds already enjoyed service in the Border Military Police amounting to Rs. 264 per mensem. It was proposed that the two services should be amalgamated. The proposals were sanctioned and the emoluments were restored from the 15th June 1889. The whole service, amounting to Rs. 1,264 per mensem, was distributed with the consent of the tribal jirga in which all classes of men were present. The jirga selected 51 headmen as the representatives of the tribe to whom the service was allotted. Mr. Ogilvie, then Commissioner of the Derajat, writes about the distribution that it has been made between the sub-sections of the tribe in a manner which has received the formal approval of a large and thoroughly representative tribal assembly. As a direct consequence of this distribution a body of representative men has been brought forward whose position as such has received recognition by consent of the whole tribal assembly; thus for the first time in the history of our dealings with the Mahsud tribe it appears that substantial progress has been made towards the formation of a manageable representative jirga on a sound basis.

Arrangements for the opening of the Gomal Pass from the Quetta side by Sir Robert Sandeman, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan.

116. During the summer of 1889 Sir Robert Sandeman, Governor-General's Agent in Baluchistan, was invited to submit proposals for extending a British protectorate over Zhob and the country between the Gomal and Peshin. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was at the same time to co-operate from the Punjab side in the important work of opening up the Gomal Pass. The proposals asked for were submitted by Sir Robert Sandeman, and it was decided that Sir Robert Sandeman should proceed as early as possible on a tour through the Zhob Valley and explore the country of the Mando Khel tribe down to the junction of the Zhob and Gomal rivers. It was also determined to use the opportunity to try and come to some arrangements with the Waziri tribe for the opening of the Gomal Pass and also to effect some satisfactory tribal settlement with the Shiranis who live on the Punjab frontier to the south of the Gomal. Mr. Bruce, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, was accordingly directed to accompany Sir Robert Sandeman through the tour and assist him in the arrangements affecting the opening of the Gomal Pass and the trans-border tribes under the Punjab Government. He went and joined Sir Robert Sandeman at Loralai. Sir Robert Sandeman started from Loralai on 19th December 1889 with a large military escort and reached Apozai on the 26th. Here a halt was made, and the jirgas of the Mahsuds, Zalli Khels and Dotanis of Wana which had been previously summoned to Apozai were interviewed, and after some negotiations they entered into arrangements with the British Government and agreed to accept responsibility for the safety of the Gomal Pass in return for service grants and Maliki allowances.

The Mahsuds received Rs. 1,705 per mensem or Rs. 20,460 per annum for levies to be entertained in posts to be established for the protection of the Gomal Pass, and Rs. 833 per mensem or Rs. 9,996 per annum as emoluments to headmen, while the Zali Khels including the Dotanis of Wana received Rs. 915 per mensem or Rs. 10,980 per annum for entertainment of levies. The detailed distribution of the amounts allotted under the different heads was made by the Maliks themselves in the jirga according to the recognised standard of tribal shares.

Agreement made by the Mahsuds at Fort Sandeman.

117. The Mahsuds entered into the following agreement which was signed by 90 leading men and was ratified by Sir Robert Sandeman in the presence of a thoroughly representative jirga of over 400 men :—

"We most respectfully beg to represent that on being summoned by the Government (Sarkar) we, all the Maliks of each of the three sections of the Mahsuds, have presented ourselves at Apozai. Your Honor has informed us that the Government intend so pacify the Gomal Pass and establish communication through it with Zhob and elsewhere

and for ensuring the safety of these routes and maintaining peace in the country proposes to grant us the pay and allowances and entertain us in their service. We are greatly pleased with this arrangement and willingly accept the pay and allowances Government has graciously been pleased to fix for our tribe, in return for which we in future hold ourselves responsible for the safety and protection of the road, and will cheerfully comply with any orders that the Government may be pleased to give, and will always remain united to and on friendly terms with the Sarkar. We have distributed among ourselves the amount Government has been pleased to fix for service by common consent and according to tribal usage.

" We trust that in future Government will regard us as their own subjects and treat us with kindness, and we, Maliks and out nominees, levies, will always be present when required and ready to do the Government service. In whatever places Government may be pleased to fix posts for our nominees, levies, they will remain there without objection and serve the Government faithfully.

APOZAI :
The 19th January 1890. "

118. After completing the negotiations and agreement with the tribes at Apozai under which the Mahsuds and others agreed to the opening of the Gomal Pass and undertook the responsibility for its protection, Sir Robert Sandeman, accompanied by Mr. R. I. Bruce, started for the Gomal with a part of the military escort which accompanied him from Loralai, the remaining escort being left at Apozai. On the 25th January 1890 Kajuri Kach which is situated on the junction of the Zhob and Gomal rivers was reached. Here a halt was made for two days with a view to allow time for the improvement of the road over the Gwaleri Kotal. On the 28th the expedition arrived at Nili Kach and the following day moved into Tank.

Sir Robert Sandeman, accompanied by Mr. R I. Bruce, C.I.E., returns to Dera Ismail Khan through the Gomal Pass opening the pass formally.

119. Here a Darbar was held in which, in consideration of the loyal services of the Mahsud headmen, Sir Robert Sandeman was authorised to announce the immediate suspension of the tax of one-fourth share in kind levied on the imports of the Mahsuds into British territory in realization of the fines and compensations found to be due from the Mahsuds at the termination of the Mahsud Expedition of 1881. Sir Robert Sandeman clearly explained to the jirga that the suspension was conditional on their continued good behaviour and loyalty.

Darbar held at Tank and the tax levied on the imports of the Mahsuds into British territory after the expedition of 1881 was suspended in recognition of the services of the Mahsud Maliks.

After the successful termination of this march orders were given for the construction of levy posts to protect the road through the Gomal at Khajuri Kach, Nili Kach and Spinkai Kach. The construction of the posts was carried on by the Mahsuds; levies were entertained on the sillahdari system to garrison the posts which were then under construction. A post was also established at Kashmir Kar. During the cold weather of 1890-91 a railway survey was made through the Gomal Pass. The Mahsud Waziris acted fairly well up to their engagements and supplied tribal escorts to the Public Works and Railway Survey parties and convoys. The construction of the levy posts and of the road in the pass was carried out without interruption and without the loss of a single life. There was, however, a certain amount of jealousy in connection with the distribution of the new service pay and allowances.

Posts in the Gomal Pass and the railway survey.

120. During 1891 matters gradually settled down, and the state of affairs on this part of the border showed a very marked improvement. In the year two proposals were made, *first*, that a Darwesh Khel tribal levy post should be established in Spin or the protection against Mahsud and Darwesh Khel robbers of the routes from Khajuri Kach up the Gomal towards Gul Kach and up the Zhob towards Mughal Kot and also to keep the grazing *kirris* of Suleman Khels in order in the winter; *second*, that a Mahsud and Bhittanni tribal levy post should be established at Jandola on the Bhittanni-Mahsud border. The latter proposal was not a new one. For some years before the question of putting a post of some kind there had often been considered, but in the old state of our relations with the Mahsuds it was not felt to be possible to carry out the proposal. The Bhittannis could not have held it independently, and it was thought too far advanced into *quasi*-independent country for a military post. When, however, we entered into new arrangements with the Mahsuds for the opening of the Gomal Pass and gave them a much larger subsidy, it was felt that it ought to be possible to establish at last a post at Jandola, and with this object proposals were made and supported by the Punjab Government to establish two posts, one at Jandola and the other at Spin.

Proposals for the location of posts in Spin and at Jandola.

VIII.—Division from 1892—1895.

121. Nothing however had yet come out of these proposals, when in February 1892 reports were received that the Amir was endeavouring to bring under his control the mixed clans occupying Wana, Spin, Gul Kach and other places either within the limits of British political control or close to them. A party of Khasadars (Afghan levies) was also reported to have encamped on the northern bank of the Gomal river at Gul Kach. Under instructions from the Government of India 60 sowars of the Zhob Levy Corps under a native officer were sent in the beginning of March to occupy the southern bank of the river at Gul Kach.

A party of the Amir's Khasadars (levies) sent to Gul Kach with a view to extend his influence to Wana, Spin, Gul Kach, &c.

122. The Wazirs, who had given their allegiance to us and were in our pay were informed that if the Amir's officials made overtures to them or tried to enter their country they should tell them that they had entered into relations with the British Government, and could have nothing to do with any other Power. They were also told that they should not allow the establishment on behalf of the Amir of any posts in their territory. The Wazirs asked for an assurance from the British Government that they would be supported in the event of their rejecting the overtures of the Amir and resisting his advance by force. They were told that, provided they strictly confined themselves to their own recognized country and committed no act of aggression or provocation, the Government of India would support them in such manner as the Government might think fit against interference on the part of the Amir.

The Wazirs were instructed to inform the Amir's agents that they could have no relation with him and to refuse the establishment of posts by him.

123. About the middle of May Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, an Agent of the Amir, produced a considerable change in the aspect of affairs by his arrival at Wana. He came accompanied by 100 Cavalry, 100 Infantry and several of the Ahmadzai Waziri Maliks who were in the pay of the British Government and who had in response to previous invitation gone to Kabul a month or two before. His arrival in Wana had a disturbing effect on all sections of the Wazirs, especially as the Amir's agents urged both the Darwesh Khels and Mahsuds to cease to have any relations with the British Government and to hand over their country to the Amir. He proposed to the Mahsuds that the Amir should put posts at Jandola, Kanigoram and Makin, and that they should pay one-tenth revenue.

The sending of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan with troops to Wana by the Amir.

124. In June 1892 the Amir's agents were reported to have obtained a footing in Spin and were doing their utmost to extend the Amir's influence over the Mahsuds and Darwesh Khels. The proposal to establish a post at Jandola was again pressed on the Government in order to convince the Mahsuds of the certainty of our support against the Amir if they maintained their engagements with us.

The location of a post at Jandola again pressed by the local officers.

125. The Sardar made repeated attempts to get in the Mahsuds' representative jirga to Wana, but without success. Only a few Nana Khel Maliks, such as Muhammad Afzal, Nekzan Khel, and Juma Khan, responded to his summons, waited on him and were with some other Mahsuds sent to Kabul.

The Sardar makes repeated attempts to get in and send to Kabul a representative Mahsud jirga.

126. About this time a letter was received from the Amir of Kabul by the Government of India in which he preferred a claim to Waziristan and took exception to the action of one of our officials in writing to certain Wazir Maliks and enquiring why Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan had come to Wana. The Government of India took the opportunity, and in reply to this letter informed the Amir on the 6th July that the British Government had always dealt directly with the Waziri tribe and must continue to do so, and that they could not admit his claim to any part of Waziristan. He was warned in the clearest terms that the British Government would not tolerate any further advance on the part of Afghan officers and troops, or permit him to establish any new posts or to increase any garrison which he had then in Waziristan or the country to the south of it, pending a decision on the question of the settlement of the Amir's frontier which was then under the consideration of Government. The substance of this letter was communicated to the Mahsuds and Darwesh Khels, and it was explained to them that the Afghan frontier was about to be settled between the British Government and the Amir, and in the meanwhile the Amir had been warned not to interfere with the Wazirs and would not be permitted to do so.

The Amir prefers a claim to the ownership of Waziristan, and Government informs him that his claim is inadmissible and warns him to make no further advance pending a settlement of his frontier.

127. On the 15th July three military sowars were attacked between Moghal Kot and Mir Ali Khel. The sowars escaped, but two horses were killed. A Shirani sowar of the Zhob Levy Corps, who left Kajuri Kach for Moghal Kot on the 11th July, was shortly afterwards reported to be missing, and it was subsequently ascertained that

Raids committed by Wazirs in Zhob in July and August 1892.

he had been murdered. On the 20th July the Commissioner of the Derajat reported the murder of four sowars of the Baluchistan Levies between Kajuri Kach and Moghal Kot. On the 2nd August a report was received that five Cavalry sowars had been attacked between Mir Ali Khel and Gul Kach, three of whom were shot; and on the following day a further report was received that the party sent by the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan to convey a letter to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan at Wana was attacked on its return by a party of sixty Wazirs near the junction of the Toi with the Gomal and had two men wounded.

The serious offences noted above were committed at the instigation of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan.

128. The attitude of the Sardar had now become defiant and aggressive, and it was reported that he had congratulated the raiders who had committed the above offences. The Mahsud Maliks in a petition of the 21st July 1893 clearly attributed these offences to the instigation of the Sardar in order to embroil their tribe with the British Government and thus to improve the chance of their submitting to the Amir. Subsequent enquiries showed that the raiding parties were composed chiefly of Nekzan Khels and some bad characters belonging to other sections. The arms and horses of the murdered sowars were reported to be in Kot Juma, and Juma Khan (Nekzan Khel) himself was said to be in possession of one of the stolen carbines. Zariband, who was the moving spirit in these raids, lived in the Shakai Valley belonging to the Darwesh Khels, and the Zalli Khels of Wana were reported to have harboured and entertained Zariband and his party in Wana on his way to and from these expeditions.

General plan of operations adopted by Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan.

129. The general plan of operations adopted by Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan appears to have been to try and embroil the Mahsud tribe with the British Government, to induce them to own allegiance to the Amir by overt and formal proceedings such as the signing of an agreement to give their country to His Highness and to permit him to establish posts there. To work for this purpose on the cupidity and religious sentiments of the tribesmen, he sent letters to Mullah Gulab Din, who was a most influential man in the Waziri country and had his head-quarters in Daur, to enlist his assistance; finally, the Sardar tried to assemble a large jirga of the Mahsuds at Wana in order that a strong deputation might be sent from there to Kabul to interview the Amir and bring with them other Afghan officials to take up their residence in the Mahsud country.

Khalifa Nur Muhammad was sent to the Mahsud country to preach sedition and bring a deputation of the Mahsuds to Wana to be sent to Kabul.

130. To further the above objects a Kazi, named Khalifa Nur Muhammad, who had come to Wana with Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, visited the Mahsud country and openly preached sedition against the British Government. After visting Kanigoram he proceeded in the end of July to Jandola situated on the border of the Mahsud and Bhittanni country. He was accompanied by 12 Afghan sowars and about 200 Mahsuds, including Maliks Badshah Khan and Badar Din, Alizais, and Juma Khan, Nekzan Khel Nana Khel. His object apparently was to induce the Bhittannis, who are practically British subjects, to tender their allegiance to the Amir. He had eight Korans spread out before him, and preached to the Mahsuds and the Bhittannis that they should sever all connection with the British Government, as it was unlawful to take money from that Government. On the receipt of this news, orders were given that the Bhittanni Maliks should be directed to expel him and his party from their country. Before these orders were received the Kazi however had left Jandola after a stay of two days and returned to Kanigoram. After a halt of one day there he went to Khaisera. Here he persuaded all the Mahsuds there to accompany him to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan.

Mahsud Maliks' petition for the strengthening of the Kajuri Kach Post with military.

131. When things were in this state the Mahsud Maliks presented two petitions on the 22nd and 25th July in which they repudiated all connection with the Amir of Kabul and, while attributing the offences committed in Zhob referred to above to the instigation of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, asked that the strength of the Kajuri Kach Post might be increased by a military garrison with a view to check the party which had joined Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and assumed an attitude of hostility towards the British Government. In accordance with the request of the Maliks two guns and 778 rifles and 104 sabres were sent to Kajuri Kach Post. A short time after, in view of the increasing agressiveness of the Amir's Agents, a military garrison consisting of two guns, 300 rifles and 100 carbines was sent to Jandola and a levy post of the Mahsuds and Bhittannis was established there.

The Amir is requested to withdraw his Agent and troops from Wana by 1st October, otherwise the withdrawal would be enforced.

132. On the 29th August the Viceroy again addressed the Amir and requested him to withdraw his Agent and troops from Wana and Gul Kach by the 1st October, failing which the Government of India would be compelled to enforce their withdrawal.

133. Reports received at this time showed that the influence of the Amir was extending rapidly in Waziristan, and that the tribes were becoming more and more disorganised; Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan had induced many of the Waziri Maliks to profess allegiance to the Amir and had sent a large representative deputation of 1,000 men, selected from among the men brought by Kazi Nur Muhammad, to the Amir. Amongst the Maliks who went to Kabul were Badshah Khan, Alizai, his brother and cousin and also Juma Khan, Nekzan Khel, and Badr Din, Alizai. The Lieutenant-Governor apprehended that if matters were permitted to go unchecked any further, we should not only have much trouble in the Gomal and Zhob Valleys and other places beyond our proper frontier, but should further be liable to have raids made upon our own districts. He pointed out that if the great body of the Wazirs should come under the Amir's influence, as had already been the case with some of them, a state of things would supervene which would in all probability necessitate an expedition on a large scale at an early date. His Honor, therefore, thought that to avert this contingency it would be wise to make a show of force at commanding points on the borders of Waziristan, and proposed that in addition to the detachments at Kajuri Kach and Jandola, we should take immediate steps for occupying Spin, and not wait till the occurrence of fresh depredations in the Gomal rendered the measure imperative. The Government of India therefore decided that, in order to provide against the occurrence of any fresh serious outrage in the Gomal, the troops at Kajuri Kach should be reinforced up to a point sufficient to enable the Officer Commanding to occupy Spin whenever this might seem desirable to the Government of India. Orders were accordingly issued for additional troops to proceed to Kajuri Kach, and the force there was brought up to the following strength:—

Mahsud jirga at last goes to Kabul and troops sent to Kajuri Kach to advance to Spin if necessary.

One regiment of Cavalry.

Three regiments of Infantry.

One Mountain Battery.

134. On the 22nd September, under orders received from the Amir, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and the Afghan troops quitted Gul Kach and Wana and took up their abode at Wazi Khawah in Katawaz.

Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and the Amir's troops withdraw from Wana.

135. The deputation of the Mahsud Waziris returned from Kabul dissatisfied with the treatment they met with there.

The Mahsud deputation returned from Kabul dissatisfied.

136. After the withdrawal of the Amir's troops from Wana the attitude of the Wazirs showed a marked improvement. The proposal which was at one time made to send a punitive expedition to the Khaisera Valley to punish the Nekzan Khels and Shakaiwals in connection with the offences committed during the visit of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan to Wana and to obtain the surrender of actual offenders in those cases was abandoned. All the cases which were then pending were taken up in hand and were disposed of satisfactorily without the use of troops. In some cases actual offenders were surrendered, and stolen carbines, swords and other property were restored, while in others large fines were imposed and realized.

After the withdrawal of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan the Wazirs show a marked improvement.

A representative jirga of different branches of the Mahsuds assembled at Kanigoram at the end of November 1892 to discuss the future attitude of the tribe towards the British Government; and in the beginning of December it was reported that the jirga had dispersed and the headmen who were loyal to Government refused to afford any countenance to the faction which sided with the Amir of Kabul and proposed to oppose the construction which was then in progress, of the defensible serai at Jandola, and of the Mahsud levy post at Spinkai Raghza.

On the 25th April the troops at Kajuri Kach and Jandola were reduced to 200 rifles and a troop of Cavalry and 150 rifles and 50 sabres respectively. The necessary defensible works for the protection of these detachments were constructed, and hutting accommodation was provided.

137. Though the Amir's Agent, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, retired to some distance from Wana, he and others acting on behalf of Amir continued to work upon the Wazirs by bribes and preachings and threats to induce them to accept the Amir's rule and break off the engagements which they had entered into with us for maintaining the peace of the Gomal. The circumstances that, though we distinctly denied the Amir's rights to rule Waziristan, we gave him an opportunity of putting forward his claim to that country in the course of the delimitation negotiations which were then being arranged, gave a handle to the Amir's people in their attempts to gain over the Wazirs. They told the Wazirs in effect that we were indifferent to the way the question might be decided; that we left it completely open; and that if the people of Waziristan declared for the

Proceedings of the Amir and his Agents after their withdrawal from Wana.

Amir, the matter would be at once settled in his favor. This placed in a more vivid light than ever before the Wazirs who were opposed to the Amir the danger they were running. Rumours were circulated several times that the Afghan troops were about to be sent to Wana and Daur. Letters were written to the Waziri headmen by the Amir himself and his Agent, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the gist of which was to flatter, cajole or frighten them into maintaining their relations with the Amir and to induce Maliks, loyal to British Government, to join them and sever their connection with that Government. They held out hopes of Gul Muhammad Khan going to their country and making a permanent settlement with them. The Mahsud Maliks were promised their allowances from the time they had visited the Amir in Kabul, and the Darwesh Khel headmen were summoned to Katawaz by the Sardar and paid the allowances which were fixed when he was at Wana, and a large deputation was again sent to Kabul in June 1893. The apparent object of the Amir and his Agent in writing these letters was to remain in touch with the frontier tribes pending a settlement of the boundary with the members of the British Mission which it was decided was shortly to visit His Highness at Kabul. All these proceedings kept the minds of the Wazirs in a state of uncertainty, and encouraged in every way the commission of offences by the disaffected, though at the same time many of the Wazirs and Dauris who dreaded the Amir's rule from time to time appealed to us to know whether we were ready to protect them by taking them under our rule or otherwise.

Conduct of Mahsuds in 1893.

138. In the beginning of 1893 several offences were committed near Kajuri Kach and Jandola which were said to be the work of individual ruffians. On the night of 21st February a sentry was shot dead at Kajuri Kach and his rifle carried off. A few days later a sowar was cut down and wounded between Khirgi and Jandola. A sentry on the Jandola camp was dangerously wounded on the night of the 21st March, and instances of firing at sentries at Kajuri Kach and Jandola occurred during March.

A repetition of the outrages took place in the Zhob District. On the 2nd May several shots were fired at a party under Lieutenant Bell encamped at Bhag in the hills near Mir Ali Khel.

On the 17th May a party of Wazirs attacked a large *kafila* of Nasirs near Kajuri Kach, killing the nephew of the Nasir Chief with some others, and carrying off over 100 camels.

On or about the 21st June six sepoys of the Zhob Levy Corps going from Mir Ali Khel to Gul Kach were attacked by a party of Wazirs, and three of their number were killed, one wounded and three rifles carried off.

On the 30th June Mr. Kelly, a subordinate officer of the Public Works Department, was shot dead by a band of raiders at about 6 miles from Moghal Kot, to which place he was proceeding from Kajuri Kach. He was accompanied by a single sowar, who was also killed at the same time.

Mission under Sir Mortimer Durand goes to Kabul to settle the Amir's frontier, and the Amir abondons claims to Waziristan.

139. On the 2nd October 1893 a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand arrived at Kabul, and on the 12th November an agreement was signed by the Amir according to which, *inter alia*, His Highness undertook to relinquish all claim to Daur and Waziristan with the exception of Birmal. A copy of the agreement is given in the opening chapter. The whole of the Mahsud country in this way fell within the jurisdiction of the British Government, and the Amir abandoned his claim to it.

Offences committed from January to August 1894.

140. The most serious of the offences committed in the eight months from January to the end of August 1894 or before the Delimitation Commission started to demarcate the boundary between Waziristan and the Amir's territory are as follows :—

The year 1894 opened with the murder of Kadir Bakhsh, Jamadar of Border Military Police. The Jamadar with 12 levies had pursued a band of thieves, belonging to the Abdul Rahman Khel section of the Spiltoi Algad and was there murdered during the day while asleep in the house of an Abdul Rahman Khel. The headman subsequently brought in the murdered man's horse and arms and unconditionally surrendered the actual murderer; but they declared that if the offender were sentenced to imprisonment, they would find it impossible to bring in the men who had murdered Mr. Kelly the previous year. In view of this consideration, and the fact that the Jamadar's death was due to his own rashness in going into Mahsud country, the offender was released on the payment of a fine of Rs. 3,000. The murderers of Mr. Kelly were subsequently brought in and were convicted by a large jirga, and each sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. They were two notorious Abdul Rahman Khel bad characters, named Jambil and Karam. The tribe made over 12 hostages of the Abdul Rahman Khel and Nekzan Khel as a security for the good behaviour of those sections in the future.

On the 18th February a patrol was fired on in the Zam Pass near the Khirgi Post, one sowar being killed and another wounded. On the following day a guard in charge of an officer's baggage was attacked in the Gomal, 8 miles on the Tank side of Kajur.

Kach. A Lance-Naik and three sepoys were shot dead and three rifles were carried off. In consequence of these outrages the strength of the posts in the Gomal and at Jandola was increased to the extent of 300 Infantry.

The offenders in the Zam Pass case who proved to be three Abdullai Mahsuds were subsequently given up by the tribe and were sentenced each to two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 5,000 or in default to suffer five years' additional imprisonment.

On the 10th April a body of raiders carried off 200 camels belonging to Suleman Khel Powindahs who were encamped within a mile of the Kajuri Kach Post, at the same time killing two and wounding one of the Suleman Khels. A pursuit party was sent out from Kajuri Kach, but it only succeeded in recovering two of the camels.

On or about the 20th April another party of the Suleman Khel was attacked by Wazirs about 10 miles from Kajuri Kach. Four of the Suleman Khels were killed, two wounded and some valuable property carried off.

About the same date 300 Wazirs attacked a Dotani *kafila*, killing six men and wounding six more and carrying away 130 cattle.

On the 26th of the same month another *kirri* of the Suleman Khel was attacked near Domandi, five men being wounded and four camel-loads of cloth being carried off.

On the following day some Wazirs attacked and stripped an unarmed party of Haripals, south of the Gomal near Domandi.

On the 12th May a *kafila* of nearly 400 Kharotis was attacked on the Kajuri Kotal Nine Kharotis were killed and eight wounded, sixteen camels laden with cloth and Rs. 3,000 in cash were carried off. The Powindahs naturally expressed great bitterness on account of these attacks and the majority of the *kafilas* temporarily abandoned the Gomal route, adopting in its stead the route *viâ* Mir Ali Khel and the Shinbaza Kotal.

About the 23rd May a levy sowar was fired upon by four Wazirs 6 miles south of Mir Ali Khel. The sowar escaped unhurt, but his horse was killed.

On the 24th June a grass-cutting party was attacked near Moghal Kot and a Naik was wounded, his rifle being carried off.

At the end of July three Zhob Levy sowars were murdered by Wazirs between Gardao and Gul Kach. They left the former post on the 25th July; on their not returning, a search was made and the bodies were found stripped, the men's rifles, &c., having been carried off.

About this time three of the leading Mahsud Maliks, who had rendered conspicuous service in obtaining the surrender and conviction of the murderers of Mr. Kelly near Moghal Kot and of the sowar in the Zam Pass, were killed by relatives of the prisoners, The Punjab Government wished to at once demand the surrender of the murderers of the Maliks under the threat of a punitive expedition, but the Government of India declined to authorise this course, as it was considered that it would almost certainly prevent the fulfilment of our obligations to the Amir in the matter of demarcating the Waziristan frontier.

On or about the 4th August two levy sowars proceeding from Moghal Kot to For Sandeman were attacked by raiders, one man being wounded and his rifle carried off, and a horse being killed. The assailants appear to have been Wazirs and to have belonged to the same gang which attacked and murdered the three Zhob Levy sowars between Gardao and Gul Kach the month before.

On the 19th August a Gujar Shirani was attacked by four Wazirs between Mir Ali Khel and Moghal Kot and robbed of his rifle and bullock.

Precautionary measures taken in Zhob.

141. Owing to this fresh batch of raids orders were issued for strengthening the guards and escorts in the Zhob District and prohibiting parties of less than six armed men moving about north of Mir Ali Khel and of less than four south of that place. The posts between Jandola and Kajuri Kach were at the same time strengthened by 300 rifles.

Arrangements commenced for the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan Frontier.

142. In accordance with the settlement made by Sir Mortimer Durand with the Amir in November 1893, arrangements were commenced early in 1894 for the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan frontier. The Amir was informed that it would be necessary to locate a force probably of the strength of one brigade in or near Spin, and that the delimitation of the boundary would commence in the end of October 1894. He was invited to make similar arrangements on his side of the border. He agreed to the arrangements.

143. It was proposed by the local officers that the opportunity of demarcating the boundary should be made use of to attain the following objects, *viz.*—

Proposals made by the Local officers to establish friendly relations with the trans-border tribes.

First, to bring the tribes into line with ourselves by the establishment of intimate and friendly relations identifying their interests with ours, rendering the resources of the country available for our requirements, and thus making our border land and its tribesmen a factor of strength in the great scheme of Imperial frontier defence instead of a source of weakness as it was while left in its normal condition of anarchy.

Second, the opening of the Tochi, Gumbatti-Thal and other routes and the establishment of safe lateral communication between the Gomal and Kurram beyond the Mahsud hills.

Third, the amelioration of the condition of the frontier tribes by the extension of humanizing influences over them, redeeming them from their semi-barbarous condition and putting them in the way of earning an honest livelihood.

144. The Government of India realized that the opportunity was the best for securing more intimate and friendly relations with the trans-border tribes, and with this object in view addressed the Secretary of State on the subject in July 1894.

The Government of India agreed and addressed the Secretary of State in regard to the character of the relations which it was desired to establish with trans-border tribes.

The objects of the arrangements which the Government of India wished to effect in Waziristan were thus stated in a despatch to the Secretary of State :—

" Our desire is to carry the tribes with us in whatever we may do, and to interfere as little as we can with their internal affairs, provided only that our obligations are discharged in protecting our border and our posts and the Gomal caravan route, and in affording to those sections and leading men of the tribes, who have thrown in their lot with us by co-operating in the coercion of turbulent characters and punishment of murderers and robbers, that protection which they deserve, and without which they cannot maintain their position.

" In making arrangements with the tribesmen such as we contemplate, it will be necessary to give increased allowances to the headmen and to enlist inferior men for service in levy posts. Our proposals in this respect are that the officer, who will be entrusted with the negotiations which are to be carried out with the tribes, should be authorised to draw up a scheme for entertainment of levies and payment of service allowances."

The Secretary of State in his despatch No. 37, dated 24th August 1894 approved generally of the measures proposed by the Government of India and agreed that in our existing relations with Afghanistan and with the tribes concerned it is essential that we should be in a position to maintain if necessary " an effective control over Waziristan."

145. The policy which was then laid down for dealing with trans-border tribes is described in the despatch quoted above. As the document is an important one it is given *in extenso* below :—

The character of relations with the trans-border tribes is fully described in the despatch of the Secretary of State.

" I have given very careful consideration to the letter of Your Excellency's Government in Foreign Department, No. 122, Secret—Frontier, dated 10th July 1894, regarding the arrangements to be made for the delimitation of the Amir's boundary, on the Waziri frontier, and the consequent arrangement for the protection of our territory to the south of the Gomal from raids, for the safety of commerce and for establishing in the interests of peace a certain amount of control over the Waziri tribe.

Despatch No. 37, dated 24th August 1894, from the Secretary of State.

" 2. Your letter dwells on frequency of raids and outrages, especially during the first five months of the year subsequent, that is to say, to the arrangement with the Amir, by which Waziristan was definitely brought within your sphere of influence, on the extreme difficulty you have had in obtaining any reparation for these outrages, and on the unsatisfactory and undignified conditions under which even this slight reparation has been obtained; on the necessity more than once imposed on you already of moving troops into the Gomal, and on the absolute inability of the Waziri headmen, in existing conditions, to coerce their recalcitrant tribesmen. You lay stress also on your responsibility, not only for protecting your own territory and the trading caravans that make use of it, but also, under the recent engagement with the Amir for preventing Waziri raids into His Highness's territory, you express your conviction that the policy of controlling these tribes entirely from without by means of tribal subsidies and levy posts without a military backing has failed, and you consider that the time has now come for substituting a policy of more effective protection and of closer relations with the headmen of the Waziri tribes.

"3. The present time, you point out, is specially opportune, as the tribes are aware that the Amir has foregone all claim to their allegiance, and as there will be a considerable military force collected for the purpose of escorting the Delimitation Commission.

"4. Your proposals, as I understand them, are that a portion of the military force collected for the protection of the Delimitation Commission should be left as a permanent garrison either at Spin or in some other suitable locality; that this would not involve an addition to the force already on the frontier, but merely a redistribution of it; that as a preliminary a Political Officer should be sent to explain the measure to the headmen of the tribes and, if possible, obtain their consent; that no tribute should be exacted from the Waziris, who will be controlled as at present under a system of tribal jirgas, but that increased allowances should be given to headmen and service allowances to the tribes for the employment of levies, the object being, as explained in your 13th paragraph, to discharge your obligations in protecting your borders and posts, and the Gomal caravan route, and in affording to those sections and leading men of the tribes who have thrown in their lot with you by co-operating in coercion of turbulent characters and the punishment of murderers and robbers, that protection which they deserve, and without which they cannot maintain their position.

"5. I have likewise given very careful consideration to the minute recorded by the three members* of your Council who dissent from the policy advocated in your letter. They are of opinion that the measures proposed, while not going far enough to secure effective control, will inevitably lead to resistance and involve the ultimate destruction of Waziri independence and the assumption of administrative control. They deprecate the assumption of any responsibility towards the Amir to prevent raids across his border, as a consequence of the recent agreement with him, and are of opinion that the existing difficulties may be met by a continuance of the past policy of control from without, supplemented by strengthening our defensive arrangements on the Gomal, and punishing the tribes when absolutely necessary by means of hostile expeditions sent into their country. And, finally, they draw a strong argument from the present state of the finances against incurring at the present time any avoidable expenditure.

* Sir C. Pritchard.
Mr. Westland.
Sir A. MacDonell.

"6. I should certainly have preferred to adopt the apparently less costly and less extensive programme which their minute advocates, if it held out any hope, in my opinion, of enabling you adequately to fulfil your obligations in regard to your own territory and the trade routes which go through it, and to the Amir and to the well-affected among the tribesmen themselves. But your letter and the correspondence which it encloses convince me that this is not the case, and I concur with you that recourse to punitive expeditions from a distant base would in the long run prove far more expensive, and that, in the existing state of our relations with Afghanistan and with the tribes, it is essential that your Government should be in a position to maintain, if necessary, an effective control over Waziristan.

"7. I consent, therefore, to your adopting the policy of which Your Excellency's letter furnishes the outline. The principle which I desire to lay down for your guidance is that in the execution of this policy your proceedings should be directed exclusively towards the objects stated in paragraph 13 of your letter and recapitulated in this despatch, and should be strictly confined to such measures and operations as may be necessary to their fulfilment. I need hardly add that, since I sanction with reluctance any assumption of fresh responsibilities and any increase of the public expenditure, I do so in this instance on the understanding that your interference with the tribes and your outlay of money in Waziristan will be kept within the narrowest limits that are practicable. As soon as the details of your scheme can be formulated, I shall be glad to learn from you what is to be the strength of the proposed post, and the arrangements for additional levy posts, and to receive an estimate of the expenditure involved."

Estimates of allowances proposed and the objects which they aimed to gain.

146. With reference to the Government of India's proposals for the extension of closer relations with the Mahsuds and the other trans-border tribes of the Derajat by the entertainment of levies and payment of service allowances, the local officers had estimated that the scheme would cost one *lakh* of rupees per annum in addition to the emoluments already enjoyed by tribesmen. Out of this sum Rs. 50,000 were proposed for the Darwesh Khels of the Tochi side (1) for the control and the maintenance of the Thal-Gumatti route, (2) to secure immunity from raids by the Darwesh Khels for the Dauris of the Tochi, and (3) as a protective arrangement for the Darwesh Khel themselves. Rupees 15,000 were proposed for the Dauris for the protection of the Tochi route; and Rs. 20,000 were proposed for the Mahsuds, Bhittannis and Wana Darwesh Khels to serve the two-fold purpose of removing the discontent which then prevailed on account of inequalities in their allowances which were distributed at Apozai in 1890, and of opening up communication between the military post which it was then decided to locate at Wana permanently and Jandola on one side and Khajuri Kach on the other. The opening of the

toad from Jandola to Wana was intended to serve the treble purpose of pacifying the rountry as a whole, increasing the safety of the Gomal, and securing an alternative line of communication between Jandola and Wana. The remaining Rs. 15,000 were proposed for che entertainment of Munshis and shop-keepers and to meet other incidental expenses. The Government of India in according provisional sanction to the expenditure of one *lakh* noted with reference to the above proposals that the opening up of the Tochi route had not been determined upon and that it depended on the negotiations with the tribe.

In September 1894 the Mahsuds and Darwesh Khels were informed that the officer deputed with the Delimitation Commission would draw up a scheme for entertainment of tribal levies and establishment of permanent relations with tribes.

147. Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., Commissioner of the Derajat, under the orders of the Government of India, informed the Wazirs in the beginning of September 1894 that by arrangement with the Amir a British force would proceed to Spin or Wana in October with the Commission appointed for the demarcation of the frontier, and that at the same time a Political Officer would be deputed who would, in communication with the different sections of the tribes themselves, propose a scheme for the entertainment of levies and payment of service allowances and other arrangements for the permanent relations to be established between them and the Government of India for the preservation of order.

Mullah Powindah works up an opposition to Government.

148. About this time Mullah Powindah, who, it will be seen further on, plays an important part in the future history of the Mahsud tribe, collected a *jirga* of the Mahsuds at his home in Marobi near Dotoi and proposed to administer to them an oath on the *Koran* to fight against the British Government in the event of British troops entering the hills, but he was reported to have failed in his attempt, as none of the Maliks agreed to the taking of the oath. Mullah Powindah however continued to intrigue and to instigate the Mahsud tribe against the British Government.

A Mahsud jirga comes to Tank and puts in a petition.

149. On the 26th of September 1894 a jirga of the Mahsuds consisting of about 300 men of all sections, except Tak Shaman Khels, who were said to be engaged in settling a private feud, came to Tank and was interviewed by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. L. W. King. The jirga made the following representations:—

First.—That the five Mahsud prisoners sentenced in the case of the murder of Mr. Kelly and the Zam outrage case may be transferred from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan Jail.

Second.—That the occupation of Spin and Wana by Government would augment the responsibilities of the Mahsuds. Any question therefore of defining new responsibilities, increased subsidies, &c., should be discussed with the jirga before a move was made into the hills as was done at Apozai in the case of the opening of the Gomal Pass.

Third.—That the Nana Khel hostages may be exchanged.

Fourth.—That the Gowaleri murder and the two subsequent outrages committed in Zhob had not been traced, but so far as the enquiries showed the Mahsuds were not implicated.

It appears that the jirga returned to the hills not fully satisfied with the replies it received.

Appointment of British Commissioner and his Political Assistants.

150. Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., then Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, was appointed British Commissioner with Mr. L. W. King, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mr. H. A. Anderson, Deputy Commissioner, Bannu, as his Assistants to demarcate the boundary and negotiate with the trans-frontier tribes with a view to secure the objects enunciated in the despatches of the Government of India and Secretary of State already mentioned.

Instructions to the British Commissioner.

151. The British Commissioner was given the following instructions by the Punjab Government with the approval of the Government of India:—

First.—In order that there may be no room for any misunderstanding of the proposal to locate a military force in Spin or Wana, he should inform the Maliks of the Darwesh Khels of Wana as soon as possible of his marches to Spin or Wana, explaining that he would halt three or four days at Kajuri Kach with the view of giving them an opportunity of making their representations and receiving explanations upon any points regarding which they might wish further information as to the intentions of Government.

Second.—That the general object of the arrangement which it is desired to effect, as stated in the quotation made previously from the despatch of the Government of India, should be clearly explained to the tribes from the first.

Third.—Before proceeding beyond Kajuri Kach he should explain fully to the Maliks what Government proposed to do and in such details as might be possible what we proposed to offer them in the way of service.

Fourth.—That the Maliks should be made to clearly understand from the first that the British Government propose to place a permanent military force of such strength as it might think proper at Spin or Wana. He should, if possible, obtain their consent to this and explain further to them that the Spin and Wana country and the trade routes followed by the Powindahs up to the Afghan border were to be considered as protected areas like the route through the Gomal Pass during the previous four years, and that any violation of this protection would be treated as a most serious offence for which reparation would be exacted, and that raids and acts of retaliations across the boundary line about to be laid down between the Amir's territory and Waziristan were forbidden for the future, and that if they had any cause for complaint against the subjects of His Highness they must bring their grievances to the notice of the officers of the British Government.

He was also given some further instructions in connection with the opening of the Tochi route, imposing tolls on Powindahs, settlement of certain pending cases which do not concern us in this place and may be conveniently referred to in their appropriate places.

The Delimitation Commissioner arrives Kajuri Kach and the necessary negotiations with Wana Ahmadzais. Mahsud jirga summoned to Wana for the 25th October 1894 and offences committed by the Mahsuds on the road to Wana.

152. The delimitation escort consisting of three regiments of Infantry, one squadron of Cavalry, one battery, and two companies of Sappers and Miners arrived at Kajuri Kach on the 18th of October. The Commissioner after concluding the necessary negotiations with the Ahamdzais of Wana regarding the occupation of Wana with troops and other incidental matters proceeded through Spin and Karb Kot to Wana.

Before arriving at Kajuri Kach, letters were sent on the 16th October to all the leading Mahsud Maliks inviting them to meet the Commissioner at Wana on the 25th October. The replies received to these letters showed that the Maliks had been endeavouring to warn the bad characters against committing offences. Notwithstanding this a few offences were committed by the latter on the road to Wana.

On the 22nd a pony and a theodolite of the survey party were stolen. On the 24th at Karb Kot shots were fired into or near the camp, but without doing any damage.

On arrival at Wana the Wanawals welcomed the Commission, and Mahsud jirgas arrive.

153. On arrival at Wana on the 25th the residents of the valley accorded a very friendly reception to the Commission. At night however a few shots were fired into the camp. On the 26th and 27th large jirgas of certain sections of the Mahsuds came into Wana to interview the Commissioner in response to the invitations which were sent to them on the 16th.

Reports of Mullah Powindah being set up as a spiritual leader.

154. Reports were also received on the 27th that certain factions at whose instigation three Mahsud Maliks had been murdered in connection with the surrender of Jambil, Karam and three other offenders in the cases of the murder of Mr. Kelly and the Zam outrage, had set up Mullah Powindah as their spiritual adviser and were making every endeavour in their power to create dissensions and to prevent a complete representative jirga from coming in, while the friendly Maliks were endeavouring to smooth away difficulties and to bring the discontended factions with them. Further reports were received on the night of 28th that Mullah Powindah had succeeded in collecting together a body of 800 men and intended to commit some offence. It was reported that his intention was to go to Kanigoram, and having strengthened his party there to proceed to Khaisera, from which place he proposed to make an attack on the Commission at Wana or to harass convoys passing on the road from Kajuri to Wana.

Application made to strengthen the Jandola garrison.

155. In view of these reports application was at once made to strengthen the Jandola Post by one regiment of Infantry and two guns, as that point was considered not sufficiently strong.

Mahsud Maliks present at Wana leave for Kanigoram to quiet disturbance.

156. The Nana Khel and Michi Khel jirgas of Khaisera who had come into camp on the 26th and 27th on hearing the news about Mullah Powindah requested permission to go to Kanigoram to use their influence to quiet the excitement there. Most of them left on the 29th and 30th October.

State of affairs from the 31st October to 3rd November when the Mahsuds attacked the British Commission.

157. On the night of the 31st shots were again fired into camp, wounding a horse in the Commissioner's camp. On the afternoon of the 1st November news was received that Mullah Powindah was at Kanigoram with some 800 followers and intended to proceed during the day to the Khaisera Valley. At 9 P M. of the same day information was received that the Mullah had arrived at Torwam in Khaisera with a following of about 1,000 men. In consequence of this news picquets were doubled and orders were issued for the troops to be under arms in their tents at 4 A.M. The night however passed quietly.

On the morning of 2nd messengers from Mullah Powindah arrived in camp. They asked for an assurance that the Government would not occupy the Mahsud country, and further demanded that the Abdul Rahman Khel and Abdullai prisoners, convicted in the cases of Mr. Kelly's murder and the Zam outrage, should be released. Mr. Bruce in reply informed the messengers that he could not have any negotiations with the Mullah except through the tribal *jirga*, and he told the messengers that he would advise the Mullah to disperse the gathering and return to his home. The proposal was made to Government that a flying column of fifteen to eighteen hundred men should go into the Khaisera Valley, disperse the gathering, and put down any other opposition remaining out two or more nights as might prove advisable.

Attack at Wana.

158. The Mullah's gathering at Torwam meanwhile had been reinforced by the Abdul Rahman Khel section and by men from Khaisera, Shahur and Shakai, swelling the numbers to between 2,000 and 3,000. The Mullah's intention was, as information received after the attack shows, to deliver the attack on the early morning of the 4th, but in view of the reinforcement he had received and his fear that well-disposed headmen might succeed in their endeavours to check the aggressive spirit of his following, he determined to take the initiative without further delay. From intelligence received from Khaisera and the fact that the day of the week was Friday, a day generally chosen for fanatical demonstration of this kind, it was thought highly probable that the attack would be made on the night of the 2nd, or early morning of the 3rd, and the Military authorities were informed accordingly. The men had orders to sleep ready accoutered and to be prepared to fall in at 4 A M. Late in the evening of the 2nd the Mullah and his following left Torwam and arrived at the Inzar Kotal at about midnight, when a halt was made until about 3 A.M. when they moved forward and attacked the camp of the Delimitation Commission at 5-20 A.M. on the 3rd. Our losses were 45 killed and 75 wounded including camp followers. One British officer was killed, two dangerously and three severely wounded. In addition to these, a considerable amount of Government and private property including 35 Martini-Henry rifles, two Martini-Henry carbines and Rs. 2,600 in cash from the Commissariat agent's treasure chest were carried off. A number of mules and horses stampeded, and some were carried off. The enemy's loss was estimated at 350 killed in addition to the wounded.

The following principal sections were concerned in the attack :—

Alizai	...	1. Shabi Khels. 2. Garerais. 3. Langar Khels.
Bahlolzai	...	1. Abdullais. 2. Nazar Khels. 2. Abdul Rahman Khels.
Shaman Khels	...	Khali Khels of Maidan.

Besides the above, some *badmashes* belonging to other sections were also implicated, such as Shingis, Michi Khels, Nekzan Khels of Khaisera and Shaman Khels of Shahur. A few of the Shakaiwals who are Darwesh Khels also took part, principally Shadkais and Malik Shahis of Zariband's gang.

Dispersal of Mullah Powindah's gathering.

159. The next two nights, the 3rd and 4th, were passed in some disquiet as the Mullah was still in Khaisera and some of his followers were known to be with him. It was thought possible that another attack might be made on the camp. Most of the leading Maliks arrived at Khaisera on the night of the 3rd and sent a message to the Commissioner asking permission to come in. They were informed that they could not be received until Mullah Powindah's gathering had completely dispersed On the 5th Mullah left Khaisera for Kanigoram and his followers dispersed. It appears that the Maliks then present in Khaisera had warned him that he must reckon with them if he persisted in further opposition to Government The Mullah, however, continued to maintain a hostile attitude. On the 16th November a letter was received from him in which he said that he would continue to do mischief until the five men imprisoned in the Peshawar Jail in connection with Mr. Kelly's murder and the Zam outrage cases were released

and until he received an assurance in writing that the Mahsud country would not be occupied. He advised the Commissioner not to listen to the Maliks who, he said, had neither followers nor power in the tribe. He added that the country from the Kurram to the Gomal belonged to *Islam*, and there was no room there for a foreigner. Subsequent reports showed that the Mullah was actively employed in collecting a following, and sent messengers to Daur, Khost and Urgun. He actually collected a gathering of 1,500 men by the 22nd November and arrived in Shikai with a Mahsud lashkar of two to three thousand men, but he was made to disperse his gathering in Shakai.

Though the Mahsuds lost 350 in killed and a number wounded, it was decided that the loss was not a sufficient punishment for the unprovoked nature of the attack and the loss sustained by Government, and that they should be required to make heavy reparation.

Terms of peace given to the Mahsuds.

160. They were accordingly given the following terms on the 17th November to be complied with by the 1st of December :—

1st.—The eighteen ringleaders, namely,—

(1) Shahin, Abdulai (Bahlolzai),
(2) Tarakai, " "
(3) Mirbosh, " "
(4) Zarim, " "
(5) Minak, " "
(6) Ghaizal Shingi (Bahlolzai),
(7) Jaggar, Abdul Rahman Khel (Bahlolzai),
(8) Mianji, " "
(9) Alahdad, " "
(10) Pashakai, Shábi Khel (Alizai),
(11) Karim Khan, " "
(12) Sinaband, Garerai (Alizai),
(13) Isab, " "
(14) Hazrat Nur, Langar Khel, (Alizai),
(15) Bara Khan, Faridai (Alizai),
(16) Masid, Chahar Khel (Shaman Khel),
(17) Nawar, Khali Khel (Shaman Khel),
(18) Saleh Muhammad, Kareshi,

to be surrendered to be kept as hostages at Dera Ismail Khan.

2nd.—Mullah Powindah to be expelled from the Mahsud country until the demarcation of the Afghan-Waziristan boundary had been completed.

3rd.—Every rifle, horse and rupee stolen from the camp on the night of the attack to be restored, or Rs. 500 in cash for each rifle or horse to be paid.

Action proposed to be taken in default of compliance with terms in time.

161. The Government of India decided on the 29th November that if the Mahsuds did not accept the terms explained to the jirga by the 1st December, the political control as well as the military command would be placed in the hands of Sir William Lockhart, K.C.B., and that he would be instructed to enforce compliance with the terms already laid down and with such additional terms as additional resistance might render necessary. It was also decided that on such a settlement being completed the force would be withdrawn as soon as might be consistent with military safety and as soon as the demarcation of the frontier with Afghanistan had been carried out.

Acceptance of terms by the Mahsuds, cause for their non-compliance by the 1st of December, and request for further time.

162. The Mahsud Maliks accepted the terms and expressed their readiness to obtain compliance with them, but they found it impossible to make any arrangement while the Mullah's large hostile gathering of 2,500 to 3,000 men remained assembled in the Mahsud country. At last the Mullah was induced to dismiss his gathering and consented to co operate with the Maliks in bringing about compliance with the terms. He sent his two Mullahs, Mullah Hamzullah and Mullah Muallim, with the jirga to communicate his wishes to the Commissioner. The Maliks

arrived at Wana on the 1st December and submitted a petition asking for further time to comply with the terms. The petition runs as follows:—

"We the Mahsud Maliks, together with Darwesh Khels, Suleman Khels and Dotannis, went and saw Mullah Powindah and his companions at Shakai and Khaisera.

"We strained every nerve to make them understand that our welfare and that of our country and tribe depended on carrying out the Government terms, and exhorted them to carry them out, as the Government is powerful and hostility against it would result in the ruin of our tribe and country. Mullah Powindah and some of his companions on hearing this agreed that peace should, if possible, be concluded, but immediate compliance with Government terms appeared difficult, as the time allowed to us was short, and secondly on account of the large force of people assembled. Mullah Powindah was advised that no good results could be secured, nor could peace be by any means arranged for until he first dispersed his following. The Mullah accepted this and dismissed his *lashkar*, and said that he would himself go to Kanigoram. The people who were assembled there accordingly dispersed to their homes, except a few who accompanied him to Kanigoram. Mullah Powindah sent with us two Mullahs, *viz.*, Mullah Hamzullah and Mulla Muallim, as his agents after he communicated to them his wishes, so that they may represent him before the Commissioner and hear the Government orders.

"The Mullahs above named appeared before you yesterday and represented all they wished to say. Now we the Maliks and the two Mullahs have agreed and request that the Government may be good enough to give us 12 days, that we the Maliks and the two Mullahs, agents of Mullah Powindah, may return to the hills and endeavour to carry out the Government terms in order that the tribe and the country may be spared from destruction. Should we fail to carry out the Government terms, it will then rest with the Government to do as it likes. We Maliks shall continue as hitherto to be on the side of Government and accept whatever arrangement Government may make for our welfare and for affording us an asylum.

"We the two Mullahs who are agents of Mullah Powindah have read the petition, understood its sense, and agree with the Maliks."

Further terms applied for by the Mahsuds granted, the tribe fail to comply with the terms within time, and the advancing of the punitive expedition into the Mahsud country.

163. The further term asked for was granted up to the 13th December, but military preparations were commenced, so that in the event of compliance not being made by that date an expedition should be ready to enter the Mahsud country to enforce compliance with the terms. The Maliks and the Mullah Powindah tried their best to obtain compliance with the terms. Some of the stolen rifles and a part of the other property were collected, and two days before the date fixed every thing appeared to indicate that the terms would be complied with, but all the men who had been demanded to be kept as hostages did not agree to surrender themselves and the negotiations to obtain compliance with the terms within the time fixed concluded unsuccessfully on 14th December 1894. On this Sir William Lockhart assumed charge of the political and military operations.

General Lockhart's proclamation to the Mahsuds before entering their country.

164. The following proclamation was issued by him as the General Officer Commanding the Waziristan Expedition:—

"Whereas some evil-disposed persons of the Waziri tribe made an unprovoked attack upon the camp of the Commission at Wana, upon the 3rd November 1894, and plundered certain property therefrom:

"Whereas the Sarkar is aware that the Maliks of the Mahsud Wazirs did not sympathize with the evil-disposed persons aforesaid:

"And whereas the Sarkar is desirous of living in friendship with its neighbours, the Waziri tribe, and wishes to show the sincerity of its pacific intentions:

"Therefore Mr. Bruce called to himself a *jirga* of the said tribe and explained to the Maliks who attended the said jirga that, notwithstanding the unprovoked aggression committed by the evil-disposed persons aforesaid, the Sarkar would not hold the tribe responsible, nor inflict punishment upon the tribe generally, provided that on a given date the Maliks restored to the British Government every horse and every rifle and every rupee stolen from the British camp, or Rs. 500 instead for each rifle or horse; and also that certain persons named by him were surrendered to the British Government, and that the Mullah Powindah, the leader of the attack on the British camp, retired from the country until the matter was settled.

"Now the said date has passed, and the tribe aforesaid has failed to comply with the above terms, I therefore proclaim to all concerned that I am authorized by the Sarkar to punish the sections of the tribe who attacked the British camp as above said, and all persons who assist or screen such sections, to enforce from the Waziri tribe the

fulfilment of the terms and conditions which I have detailed above, and of any further terms and conditions which renewed opposition by the said tribe or by any section or individuals thereof may require the Sarkar to impose.

" And I inform you that it is my intention to secure the carrying out of the demarcation of the boundary which the Sarkar has from the beginning intended to carry out, and inflict chastisement for the unprovoked attack on the British camp at Wana, and to enforce the conditions above said. I have no desire to stay in your country longer than is necessary for the attainment of these objects, and if you or any section of you resist me or do not comply with my demands, I may be compelled to remain longer than the Sarkar has any desire that I should stay. And I call upon all who wish to live in peace with the Sarkar and desire to possess their own country and to see it no more in the power and occupation of Sarkar to assist to the utmost of their abilities in facilitating the object with which, as notified to you, I have been sent into your country, by which means they will save the tribe from further punishment and the tribal country from further occupation."

Entry of troops into the Mahsud country and the punishment inflicted.

165. The troops which had been previously concentrated at Wana, Jandola and Mirian in the Bannu District moved on the 17th and 18th December in three columns to enter the Mahsud country. The first column from Wana was ordered to proceed to Kanigoram *viâ* the Khaisera Valley and Shawangi Kotal. The second column from Jandola with which was the General Officer Commanding the Waziristan Field Force and the head-quarters staff moved on the 18th with Makin as its objective; while the third column marched from Mirian on the 17th December with Razmak as its objective. The three columns arrived at Kanigoram, Makin and Razmak on the 21st December having punished in the way the guilty sections of the Mahsuds by blowing up towers and plundering and destroying villages deserted by the inhabitants who in most cases fled to the valleys round Pirghul. On the 25th December after the three columns arrived at their respective destinations six smaller columns were detached from them and sent simultaneously to harry the valleys round Pirghul. These columns after having blown up the towers and destroyed the villages of the hostile sections returned to Kanigoram and Makin. On the 31st December the major portion of the third column was sent to visit the Shaktu, Sheranna and Shuza Valleys. After having punished the Shabi Khels, Kikrais and Jalal Khels, this force concentrated at Jandola. A detachment from the first column was sent to visit the Abdul Rahman Khel settlements in the Spiltoi Valley, while the remainder of this column and the second column marched to Jandola *viâ* the Tak Zam, punishing in the way the guilty sections. The troops composing the expedition in this way visited places which had never before been visited and which were regarded by the Mahsuds as their places of refuge in time of trouble.

Return of the third column to the Bannu District for entry into the Tochi Valley and the concentration of the remaning two columns in the Khaisera Valley when final terms of Government communicated to the assembled Mahsud jirga.

166. From Jandola the third column proceeded to Mirian in the Bannu District to prepare to enter the Tochi Valley, while the first and second columns went together through the Shahur Valley until they reached Kundiwam in the Khaisera Valley. During this time only two out of the sixteen (two had been killed by their tribesmen) demanded were surrendered, and twenty-five rifles and five horses were given up, but beyond this no attempt was made by the Mahsuds to comply with the Government terms. On the 21st January a large Mahsud jirga assembled at Kundiwam, and the final terms of Government were then communicated to the tribe by General Sir William Lockhart. The General then marched with the first column to Wana to make arrangements for the delimitation of the boundary from Domandi to Khwaja Khiddar and left Mr. Bruce at Kundiwam with the 2nd Brigade to enforce compliance with the Government terms communicated to the jirga on the 21st January.

Final terms of Government communicated to jirga on the 21st January 1895.

167. These terms were as follows :—

1st.—The remaining hostages demanded by Government to be surrendered *viz*.—

Name.	*Section.*
(1) Tarrakka	Abdullai.
(2) Mirbash	Do.
(3) Zarim	Do.
(4) Minak	Do.
(5) Jaggar	Abdul Rahman Khel.
(6) Miyanji	Do.
(7) Alah Dad	Do.
(8) Ghaizal	Shingi.
(9) Hazrat Nur	Langar Khel.
(10) Bara Khan	Afridi.

	Name.			*Section.*
(11)	Pashakai	...	...	Shabi Khel.
(12)	Karim Khan	...	...	Do.
(13)	Sinaband	...	...	Garerai.
(14)	Isaf	...	...	Do.

These men to be kept in the hostage *serai* in Dera Ismail Khan pending the pleasure of Government.

2nd.—The following Government property, stolen from the Wana camp not yet returned, to be restored:—

Rifles ...	...	...	...	10
Horses	...	...	...	19
Cash	...	...		Rs. 2,000

Should the restoration of any of the rifles or horses be found impracticable, compensation to be exacted in cash at the rate of Rs. 500 for each horse and Rs. 500 for each rifle.

3rd.—Mullah Powindah not to be allowed access to Mahsud territory on any pretext whatever, until the delimitation operations are completed and a final settlement is concluded with the Mahsuds.

4th.—The following arms in good condition to be surrendered to Government, *viz.*—

50 Breech-loaders.

200 Match-locks.

200 Swords or knives.

Cash compensation on no account to be accepted in lieu of these arms.

5th.—The amount of fines outstanding against the tribe, *viz.*, Rs. 12,828-9-3, to be paid in cash.

6th.—The Shahur Valley route from Jandola to Wana *viâ* Khaisera to be opened up and posts established therein. The tribal *Maliks* to be held responsible to prevent any obstruction of the route and to secure the safety of the troops, convoys, travellers and Government officials using the same.

7th.—The arrears of fines against the tribe, as well as the cash stolen from Wana, and compensation for such rifles and horses as have not yet been surrendered to be exacted in cash. If, however, any difficulty is experienced in paying the full amount in cash, cattle and sheep to be accepted instead at a reasonable appraisement.

8th.—The Maliks are given, till 1st March 1895, corresponding to the 3rd of Ramzan 1312, to comply with the above terms, and they are hereby given to understand that the troops will not evacuate their country until this is done.

Objections of the Mahsuds to the terms.

168. There were two hundred and seventy-two Maliks present in the *jirg*, and all the sections with the exception of the Shabi Khels and Abdul Rahman Khels were fully represented. The only condition to which the Mahsuds raised objections related to the surrender of 50 breech-loading rifles and the opening up of the Shahur Valley. They presented a written petition in reply to the terms communicated to the *jirga*; as the petition is an important document, its translation is given *in extenso*:—

Translation of a petition presented by the Mahsud Maliks to General Lockhart at Kundiwam.

" We the Maliks of all three sections of the Mahsuds beg to state that when we received the proclamation regarding the delimitation of the Indo-Afghan boundary, we informed our tribesmen of its terms and strongly urged them to give effect to the orders of the Government. Subsequently the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner summoned the Mahsud jirga and fully explained to them the intentions of Government regarding the delimitation. Thereupon we Maliks of the three sections submitted an unanimous petition for the consideration of Government." This was to the following effect:—

' We have heard the orders of Government regarding the delimitation and the convening of the jirga at Wana. We have no objection to raise on this account. We would beg, however, to state that our tribe is refractory, and should it against our wishes offer any hostility to Government, we hope that Government may punish them. Accordingly our tribe unanimously gave in their adhesion to Mullah Powindah, and at his investigation made an unprovoked attack on the British camp at Wana. After this, certain terms were

offered to the tribe which we were not able to comply with. Owing to our failure to conform to these terms, Government has inflicted punishment on our tribe with which we are pleased and satisfied. Now in the Darbar just convened by General Lockhart, Chief Political Officer, we have heard the final orders of the Government and the terms it has imposed on the tribe. Regarding this matter we beg to make the following representations. We have no objection to the surrender of hostages, the restoration of the rifles, horses and cash stolen from the Wana camp and the payment of the fines outstanding against the tribe. We would only urge that our tribe has already been punished, and that we will have no hesitation in complying with the terms of Government on condition, firstly, that no roads and posts are constructed in our country and that Government refrains from any interference in our affairs; secondly, that the fifty breech-loading rifles are not demanded from our tribe. If Shahur and Khaisera are occupied by Government and roads and posts are constructed therein, this is tantamount to taking over half the Mahsud territory, leaving us only the other half. We, therefore, beg to represent that we do not wish to save half our country from occupation. We accordingly desire that Government should occupy the whole of our country, and we hereby willingly make it over to Government. In return, however, for this surrender of our country we request the following favours from Government:—

(1) that nothing but the hostages and the property stolen from the Wana camp should be demanded from us;

(2) that, regarding us, its subjects, Government may remit the fines outstanding against the tribe and let them off the surrender of arms;

(3) that the tribe may be exempted from payment of reveune and "begar";

(4) that reasonable allowances may be granted to the Maliks of the tribe;

(5) that all cases may be tried by the tribal jirga.'"

Disposal of objection and opening of Shahur route.

169. Sir William Lockhart, in view of the difficulty which he anticipated in the Mahsuds complying with the terms regarding the surrender of breech-loaders, recommended that he should be authorized to accept, if necessary, three muzzle-loaders for each breech-loader that might be surrendered. He further recommended that the opening of the Shahur route which was essential for the pacification of the Mahsud country should be carried out, and to do this effectually a military post at Barwand should be established. The Government of India asked for the opinion of the Punjab Government on he objections made by the Mahsud to the surrender of 50 breech-loaders and the opening of the Shahur Valley route. The Punjab Government accepted the view of General Lockhart as regards the surrender of 50 breech-loaders. In regard to the opening of the Shahur route, while concurring with the General that the Shahur route which seemed more exposed to raiders than the Gomal could not really be made safe as a road for every day purposes without posting strong force of regular troops on it, they left the value of the route as a road to the judgment of the General. In doing this they added that the opening of the Shahur had originally been proposed for the protection of the Gomal and the country south of it, and that the establishment of tribal posts along the valley would tend to promote this object, especially in an indirect manner by imposing definite responsibility on the tribe, while no doubt the addition of strong military posts would have greater direct effect in preventing raiding parties from crossing to the Gomal. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was on the whole opposed to the forcible establishment of military posts on the Shahur route, as he considered this would be regarded as a step in the direction of taking possession of the Mahsud country. His Honor suggested that we might tell the tribe: "We fear we cannot keep you in order without taking control of the route, but we are willing to give you a chance. If raiding begins again, we will enter and assume control without saying by your leave' or as an alternative :—' If you will establish tribal posts for which we will pay, we will see how its works, but if it fails, we will certainly establish military posts.'" The Government of India accepted the view of the Punjab Government and authorized Sir William Lockhart to accept, if necessary, three muzzle rifles as equivalent to one breech-loading rifle. With reference to the opening of the Shahur route, they issued the following instructions:—

"The Government of India cannot regard the Mahsud petition as really indicating a desire to put the whole country under British protection or as more than indicative of grave objection to the establishment of military posts in the Shahur route. The opening of this route was originally proposed and sanctioned with the intention of protecting the Gomal and the country south of it, and that sanction was contingent on the tribe agreeing or on the route being kept by levy posts,—see instructions to Bruce. You were therefore instructed to put the obligation on the Mahsud. You may now point out to the Mahsuds that if they will establish tribal posts, we will pay them and see how the plan works, and you may in the course of negotiation, if argument is needed, suggest that if this plan does not succeed, the Government of India may find it necessary to establish military posts, but be careful not to use this as a threat requiring us to act on it if the Mahsud either refused to establish levy posts or failed to work them. The establishment of military posts could not be made without reference to the Secretary of State, and might be regard-

ed as a step in the direction of taking possession of the country. The Government of India wish to make it clear beyond dispute to every one that they intend to act fully up to the terms of your proclamation and do not wish to take possession of Mahsud country."

170. On this Mr. Bruce, who was then employed in obtaining compliance with the final terms of Government at Kundiwam, was asked by the General to endeavour and obtain if possible, the consent of the tribe to the opening of the Shahur route. The Mahsud, Maliks were sounded by him on the subject, and at last they gave their consent which they expressed in the petition which was verified in the presence of a large Mahsud jirga on 20th February 1895, and is quoted below :—

Petition of the Mahsuds consenting to the opening of the Shahur Valley route, and suggesting a mode of managing the Mahsud tribe in the future.

Translation of a petiton presented by the Mahsud Maliks to Commissioner, Derajat, on the 20th February 1895.

"With reference to the enquiry you have made as to what was our real meaning in the petition we had presented to the General after hearing the Government terms, we, the Maliks, beg to state in reply as follaws: You are aware that we had failed on this occasion to keep the *badmashes* under control, and they acquired additional strength with the assistance of Mullah Powindah and committed the Wana outrage. Now the *badmashes* have been fully punished, we are much pleased. But we are apprehensive that at some future time when they forget about this punishment, they may disgrace us and put us to trouble again. We wrote in our petition that the Government should either give up the Shahur route or take all the hilly country under protection and control. We really did mean by this that Government should include in their control all our country; when we heard among the terms about taking the Shahur route, we considered that the Government will not now give up the Shahur route and will also according to our request take all the hilly country under the protection, and that our object will in this way be accomplished. Should the Government take only the Shahur route, our object will not be fulfilled, because we are afraid, lest the *badmashes* may trouble as they did in the Gomal Pass: in the cases of Jambil, Karam, &c., murdered the Maliks who had assisted in the cases and made the matters worse. The Gomal Pass is at a distance from *abadis*. When *badmashes* went towards the pass we somehow or other came to know of them after their starting or return and exercised pressure on them. While along the Shahur route the *abadis* are scattered here and there and the different sections of Mahsuds are mixed up, the *badmashes* might commit petty offences without being known, and we the tribes living along the route will be disgraced and put to trouble. Our object is that the Government should now arrange so well that there may be no such cause for anxiety in the future and that commission of offences and outrages may be put a stop to. This in our opinion can be effected in this way that Government should arrange to keep troops in the hills for some time and build two or three posts in the Shahur Pass as well as two or three more posts in the country in such places as Kanigoram, Makin, &c.; an officer of high standing may be appointed in the country that he may be able to arrange all this; when an offence be committed he should take Maliks with him and make enquiries into it; and that such status (*izzat*) and allowances may be granted to us that we should be able to carry on the work efficiently. In the old arrangements all the leading Maliks and *Motabirs* did not receive sufficiently large allowances; some Maliks got Rs. 10 and others Rs. 15 or Rs. 20, while a sowar asserts that in the house of Government he and a leading Malik are in the same position, the *badmashes* thus try to undermine our influence. We admit that the *badmashes* have done so much damage to the Mahsuds that they have brought on the country this punishment and given the Government authority to open and manage Shahur or any other route in which they desire that should Government take the whole hilly country under their management, as we have suggested, all cause for anxiety in the future will be obviated. We may, however, beg to request that when the Government occupies the country we may be exempt from revenue on our lands and "begar" labor, because we are poor people, and that our disputes be settled through jirgas, and all the lands and hills whether cultivated or not be free from all taxes, because everything is partitioned amongst us and belongs to particular sections, such as iron mines, fruit trees, mizri, kharlanja and nashtar, &c., and such like others may be considered as the property of the tribe; the Government may however take from hills or jungles grass and wood required for their use. Further, that our petitions and applications in the hills be taken on plain paper (unstamped) as we are poor people."

171. As suggested by the Punjab Government, the Mahsuds were under the orders of the Government of India informed that the allowances granted to them in 1890 in connection with the opening of the Gomal Pass had been cancelled by their misbehaviour which had rescinded the agreement which they had then proferred.

Mahsuds informed that their allowances granted to them in connection with the opening of the Gomal Pass route had been forfeited by their misbehaviour.

172. Out of the remaining 14 men demanded to be kept as hostages, 11 were brought in and surrendered by the Maliks by the 28th January 1895. The remaining three had fled from the Mahsud country on account of a feud and took asylum with the Darwesh Khels and were afterwards surrendered to Mr. H. A. Anderson after the troops entered the Tochi Valley. The fine of Rs. 14,828-9-3 was distributed over sections and sub-sections and was realized by the 25th February 1895. Besides the fine announced on the 21st January, a sum of Rs. 17,228-9-3 was recovered on account of the cases which were found pending against the Mahsuds and had not been disposed of before.

Compliance with the Government terms and withdrawal of troops from the Mahsud country.

By the 25th February the remaining Government rifles and horses were recovered in original or were paid for at the rate of Rs. 500 for a horse, and the breech-loaders, match-locks and swords demanded as punishment were also surrendered. All the terms were complied with before the 1st of March, the date given to the Mahsuds for compliance.

A short time after, the troops were withdrawn, except from Wana and Barwand.

173. Mr. R. I. Bruce has given a brief sketch of our relations with the Mahsud tribes since the opening of Gomal Pass in 1890 in his letter No. 110, dated the 9th March 1895. It is an interesting account and a complete summary of the events from his point of view. A copy of this is given therefore as an appendix.

A brief summary of our relations with the Mahsud tribe since 1890, given by Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E.

174. After the delimitation of the boundary was over, proposals were submitted for the construction of levy posts along the Shahur route at Haidri Kach, Sarwekai, Tangi, Khaisera and Torwam, and for the grant of allowances to the Mahsuds. Before the attack at Wana the Mahsuds received sums aggregating Rs. 51,228 per annum. It was recommended that they should get Rs. 61,548. Abstracts of the distribution of the allowances are given in Appendix E. Detailed lists of distribution were submitted to Government to show that some important sections and men of influence had been omitted from the former distribution of allowances or had received sums not proportionate to their influence or importance, and the increase was intended to remedy the above defects.

Proposals for the construction of levy posts on the Shahur route and the grant of allowances.

The following table gives a summary of the new distribution of allowances among the main sections :—

	Service per mensem.	*Maliki per mensem.*	*Total per mensem.*
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Alizai	850	633	1,483
Bahlolzai	1,200	986	2,186
Shaman Khel	700	610	1,310
Good service allowances ...	...	150	150
Total ...	2,750	2,379	=5,129

175. The allowances proposed above were sanctioned from the 1st of May 1895. A Mahsud Jirga was summoned to Shekh Budin in July to communicate the distribution of allowances and to obtain from the Maliks an acceptance of the conditions under which the grants were sanctioned.

Allowances sanctioned.

176. The Mahsuds prensented a petition accepting the following obligations in return for the allowances which were granted to them :—

Conditions under which the Mahsuds received allowances.

(*a*) That they will prevent to the best of their abilities offences and raids in British territory and in protected areas.

(*b*) Actual individual offenders will be surrendered for trial and punishment for offences committed against Government or against those employed under the British Government or working for that Government.

(*c*) They will supply escorts for officers who may enter their county for purposes connected with the management of the tribe, the control or punishment of bad characters, or for any other work, and will accompany them and be responsible for their protection and assistance.

(*d*) That levies may be deputed to work in any place within their own country.

The petition submitted by the Mahsuds runs as follows :—

Translation of a petition dated 12th July 1895, presented by Mahsud Maliks.

"We beg to state the tribal allowances granted to us at the time of the opening of the Gomal Pass have been stopped on account of the misbehaviour of the bad characters of our tribe, and request the favor of their restoration. Whatever the Government grants us we will regard it as an act of grace, and the tribe will not in future misbehave. No doubt the bad characters have weakened our hands to some extent, but if the Government helps us, we can certainly manage the tribe. We further beg to request that Maliks who may be granted allowances may be held responsible that they will prevent commission of raids and offences in the British territory or in the tracts under the influence of Government and will exert themselves for this. Up to this time the tribe or the Maliks have suffered the punishment for the outrages committed by the bad characters; but now the bad characters will be produced and punishment brought to them, so that anyone who commits an offence against the State, public servants, or the persons who act on behalf of Government may himself undergo the punishment; that if any officer will enter our country for the managemant of bad characters in connection with some other work, they will accompany, assist and protect him. The men in service will perform their duties loyally in any part of our country where they may be posted. We further beg to state that peace has been concluded between us and the Darwesh Khel for five years, and the tracts within the Mahsud limits which have long been in our possession and in which the Darwesh Khels stay for three or four months may not be considered as theirs, as their stay there is only temporary."

Construction of levy posts.

177. The Government sanctioned the construction of the levy posts at Haidri Kach and Sarwekai and of a small post at Narai Oba. These were built in the beginning of 1896. The posts, at Khaisera, Tangi and Torwam were not sanctioned, as it was decided afterwards that the route to Wana *viâ* Kundighar and Ngandi Oba was shorter and better than the route in the Khaisera Valley. The post at Ngandi Oba which is half-way between Khajuri Kach and Wana and a tower at Karkan which is on the road from Khajuri Kach to Wana and a tower at Zarranni Oba which is between Ngandi Oba and Wana were subsequently sanctioned and constructed.

Retention of a military post at Sarwekai on the Shahur route.

178. It was considered necessary that a military post should be retained at Sarwekai. A reference was made to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and his sanction was obtained to the retention of the post.

A temporary post in the Khaisera Valley.

179. After the termination of the expedition, though the Government did not sanction the construction of any posts beyond Sarwekai in the Khaisera Valley, a temporary levy post which was temporarily established, has been retained to assist in the protection of the dâk line which still runs through the Khaisera Valley. The distribution of levies in different posts as it stood in February 1900 is given in Appendix I.

Division IX.—From 1895 *to March* 1900.

Behaviour of the tribe since the expedition.

180. After the distribution of allowances one or two serious offences, such as the looting of the mail going from Jandola to Wana, were committed by certain men discontented with the distribution with a view to draw attention to their grievances, but the tribe in general behaved well until the expedition was sent to the Tochi to punish the Madda Khels for the Maizar outrage of June 1897, and military operations were taken against the trans-border tribes of the Peshawar Division. Mullah Powindah at this time appeared on the scene again and created some excitement among the Mahsuds. The Mahsuds, however, did not commit themseves as a tribe and kept quiet, though individual bad characters encouraged by the proceedings of Mullah Powindah committed offences in the Dera Ismail Khan District, in the Gomal and in the Tochi. Every endeavour was made to keep the tribe quiet at a time when military operations were being prosecuted against the border tribes of the Peshawar Division and the Madda Khels of the Tochi and while certain tribes of Baluchistan were causing excitement among the border tribes of the Dera Ghazi Khan District. After the north-western border returned to its normal state all the cases brought against the Mahsuds were taken up in the autumn of 1898 and disposed of. The Mahsuds were fined over Rs. 18,000 in respect of the cases disposed of, but some important cases were left undisposed of pending further enquiries. This sum, together with the outstanding balance due from the Mahsuds, amounted to Rs. 22,115. In February 1899 the Shingi section of the Mahsuds with the assistance of Border Bhittannis committed a serious

raid on the flocks of the Suleman Khels which were grazing close to the Dera Ismail Khan border near Nasran and carried off about 1,200 goats and sheep and killed four Suleman Khels, including a leading Malik named Sultan Muhammad Khan, who had pursued the gang across the border into the hills. The Commissioner happened to be near the spot soon after the occurrence of the raid and the pressure which he brought to bear on the Shingis and the Bhittannis resulted in the unconditional surrender of twelve of the gang leaders of the two tribes, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The sheep and goats which had been looted were either restored or their value recovered, and the blood-money awarded as compensation by jirga, for the men killed, was also recovered in full.

While steps for the recovery of the fines due by the tribe were being taken, more offences were committed by the tribe which together with the fines imposed in the cases left undisposed of in the autumn of 1898 raised the total fines to Rs. 40,581. Out of this, sums aggregating Rs. 21,739 were paid by the tribe from time to time in 1898, and this left a balance of Rs. 18,842 in the beginning of 1899. To realize this sum several surprises of villages were made, convoys were arrested both at Tank and Bannu and a few sub-sections were placed temporarily under a blockade in order to bring pressure on the offending sections and to assist the Maliks in the discharge of their obligations to us. Towards the end of 1898 and in the beginning of 1900 three more serious offences were committed, *viz.*—

(1) Murder of two Border Military Police sowars near Zaranni Oba between Wana and Ngandi Oba Posts.

(2) Attack on the Zam Post on the Dera Ismail Khan border in which five levies were killed and seven guns belonging to them carried off.

(3) Theft of three rifles from Murtaza Post.

The measures taken to settle our account with the tribe for these and later outrages and to ensure its better behaviour for the future belong to a chapter in the history of our dealings with the Mahsuds which has not yet been closed.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMISSION OF OFFENCES BY THE MAHSUDS AND THE METHODS OF DISPOSING OF THEM.

The tracts in which the Mahsuds commit offences of which cognizance is taken.

181. Before the opening of the Gomal Pass in the end of 1889 only the offences committed by the Mahsuds in British territory, *i.e.*, in the Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu Districts, were taken cognizance of. In the Dera Ismail Khan District they frequently committed raids and robberies, while in the Bannu District such offences were rarely committed by them. The opening of the Gomal Pass route and the occupation of Fort Sandeman and the opening of the country round it rendered it necessary to take cognizance of the offences committed in the Gomal Pass and in the Zhob District. Since the delimitation of the Indo-Afghan boundary in the beginning of 1895 the offences committed by the Mahsuds in Wana on the Shahur route, in the Tochi, and across the Indo-Afghan boundary, in the Amir's territory, are taken cognizance of in addition to the offences committed in British territory, the Gomal Pass and the Zhob District. The offences for which the Mahsuds are now called to account are those committed—

(1) in the Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu District;
(2) in the Gomal Pass;
(3) on the Shahur route;
(4) in Wana;
(5) in the Shirani country;
(6) in the Zhob District;
(7) in the Tochi Valley;
(8) in the Amir's territory, on the Wana side in Birmal and beyond Domandi at the junction of the Kundar and Gomal, and on the Tochi side in Khost.

It will be observed that while in former days we deprived the Mahsuds of the main source of their livelihood, *i.e.*, profit from plunder and robbery in one tract only, now they have no ground where they can commit raids and robberies and not be called to account for their actions.

The only tract, in which plunder can be sought without the raiders being called to account, is the one inhabited by the hill Bhittannis and the hill Darwesh Khels with whom the Mahsuds have hereditary feuds. It is not, however, easy to make raids in this tract, the inhabitants of which are well able to defend and avenge themselves by making retaliatory raids on the Mahsuds. Even inter-tribal offences of this class are now take cognizance of.

Under the recent orders of the Government of India, the Political Officers are enjoined to do their best to compose disputes of a serious nature between the tribes.

Classification of offences committed by the Mahsuds.

182. Offences committed by the Mahsuds are divided into following four classes :—

(*a*) Offences committed in British territory.

These are the offences which are committed in the Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Zhob Districts and Shiranni country.

(*b*) Offences committed against British subjects in protected areas.

These are the offences which are committed against Government, its subjects and aliens in the Gomal Pass, on the Shahur route, at Wana and Spin and on the Tochi Valley route.

(*c*) Offences committed against hill tribes in protected area or near posts.

These are the offences which the Mahsuds commit against the Bhittannis, the Wanawals and Dotanis, Dauris and Darwesh Khels of Tochi on the road or near posts.

(*d*) Inter-tribal offences committed in the area under political control other than the protected area described in class (*c*) in which for political or other reasons interference is considered necessary.

Extent of action taken in regard to each class of offences.

183. For the offences of classes (*a*) and (*b*) the Mahsuds are called to account strictly, and no offence is allowed to go unpunished. They are required not only to make full reparation for the losses sustained by the aggrieved persons in the offences of these classes but they are also punished with fines and occasionally, if the actual offenders are secured with imprisonment. The Political Officers have only recently, under the orders of the Government of India contained in their letter No. 2738 F., dated 19th October 1899, been authorized to exercise all the powers of a District Magistrate and of a Court of Sessions as described in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and of a Deputy Commissioner as described in the Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1887 (IV of 1887), and of a Sessions Judge as described in Act XXIII of 1867, an Act for the suppression of murderous outrages in certain districts of the Punjab The Political Officers are directed to be guided by the spirit and the principles of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Code, Frontier Crimes Regulation and Act XXIII of 1867, and to act as if these enactments were extended within their respective charges. The orders of the Political Officers are open to appeal to the Commissioner of the Derajat when the sentence of imprisonment passed by them exceeds one year, and sentences of imprisonment exceeding 5 years are subject to confirmation of the Commissioner.

The action taken in regard to the cases of classes (*c*) and (*d*) is to settle them by friendly agreement, and Political Officers do their best to obtain full compensation for the aggrieved party when they interfere and take up the case.

Procedure for investigating the offences committed in the Dera Ismail Khan District and attributed to the Mahsuds.

184. The procedure which had been adopted after the transfer in 1895 of the charge of the Dera Ismail Khan trans-border tract and its tribes, *viz.*, the Bhittannis, Mahsuds, Darwesh Khels of Wana, &c., from the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, to the Political Officer, Wana, for the disposal of the cases which are shown to have been committed by the trans-border tribes in British territory was found in 1898 to be faulty. Under the old procedure as soon as the Deputy Commissioner came to know in the course of the enquiries that the offenders were trans-border men in any offence the file of the case was transferred to the Political Officer and the further proceedings in the district stopped. Offences in the Dera Ismail Khan District are seldom committed by trans-border tribesmen without the abetment or some sort of assistance of British subjects. Under the procedure observed since 1895, abettors escaped punishment, and the pass responsibility of the Bhittannis and others was not enforced.

In the cold weather of 1898, owing to the large increase of border crime, the existing procedure was condemned and arrangements were made to ensure that in the case of offences attributed to the trans-border tribesmen action should be taken simultaneously both by the District and Political authorities until the cases were finally and definitely disposed of. Rules of procedure for the investigation of the offences of this kind were drawn up at a joint meeting of the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, Political Officer, Wana, and the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, and have been approved of. Under these rules the registers of the Political Officer will show a considerable increase in the crime alleged to have been committed by trans-border men, as every offence which is suspected to have been committed by trans-border men will immediately after occurrence be brought on his registers. On the other hand, cases will be disposed of and struck off the register with much greater promptitude than under the old procedure.

The rules framed are as follows :—

(1) The old system of sending the file to the Political Officer for "Taslím Waqua" (acceptance of occurrence) is done away with. In future there will be two files, one in the district and one at Wana.

(2) When a case occurs, it is the duty of the Deputy Inspector to submit at once one copy of his case diary to the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, if the case occurs in the Tank Sub-Division, and the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, will have this copied or such parts of it as may be necessary and send it to the Political Officer, Wana, with any comments he may wish to make.

(3) The Assistant Commissioner will keep a vernacular register (similar to that kept at Wana) in the form of the monthly statement of trans-border offences, and he will enter each case as it is reported under a separate serial number in his register.

(4) The Political Officer on the receipt of the Police report will enter the case in his register and note in red ink the serial number of the Tank register.

(5) As each subsequent case diary is received by the Assistant Commissioner he will submit to the Political Officer, Wana, if he considers it advisable, with such remarks as may be necessary, and in like manner the Political Officer will send copies of his reports in the case to the Assistant Commissioner, Tank.

(6) In this way there will be two separate and concurrent investigations, and each officer will have full information of what is being done on the other side, and each officer will proceed against the offenders, if any, in his own jurisdiction, informing the other of the final result.

(7) If during the enquiries the Political Officer is satisfied that hillmen were incorrectly accused, he will inform the Deputy Commissioner of his opinion, and if both officers agree, the case will be struck off the Wana register as untrue. In the case of difference of opinion a reference will be made to the Commissioner.

(8) The enquiries in the Court of the Assistant Commissioner will continue until all possible action has been taken on the part of the District authorities. Where no conviction is obtained in the district and the offenders are not traced, or are supposed to be hillmen, the district file should be sent to the record-room on the order of the Deputy Commissioner, and the register will ordinarily be sufficient for any reference the Political Officer may make subsequently.

(9) When the Political Officer passes orders as to the action to be taken for the disposal of the case at Wana, he will communicate with the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, who will note the fact in the register. If the Political Officer considers that there is not sufficient evidence to enable him to place the case before a jirga, he will inform the Deputy Commissioner, through the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, of his opinion, and if the Political Officer and Deputy Commissioner concur, the case will be filed for want of proof, but, if the Deputy Commissioner wishes for a jirga's decision on the case, it will be laid before a jirga.

Note.—The majority of these cases will be settled by reference to a joint jirga composed of representatives from the district and from the hill tribes, held under the orders of the Political Officer and the Deputy Commissioner.

(10) The Political Officer, Wana, will communicate the final orders passed in the case to the Assistant Commissioner, Tank, who will cause his register to be completed, and will send information to the Sadr in order to complete the register kept there.

(11) Cases of mere attempt at crime, where no loss is sustained and there is no trace of the offenders, need not be reported to the Political Officer as a rule.

(12) The Assistant Commissioner will submit to the Deputy Commissioner a monthly abstract of his register, in order that the register at the Sadr may be kept up to date.

(13) In the monthly returns the Political Officer will show in Statement I all cases of which the Police diaries have been sent him, and he can record in the column of remarks his opinion on the case. By the time these returns reach the Deputy Commissioner, the monthly abstract of cases will have been received from Tank.

(14) In cases of offences committed in the Kulachi Tahsil the procedure prescribed for the Tank Sub-Division will apply, except that the District Magistrate himself will act instead of the Assistant Commissioner. Magistrates in charge of thanas on the border in the Kulachi Tahsil should act as follows :—When a case occurs in which trans-border Pathans are suspected they will forward copies of the Police diaries to the District Magistrate at once, and the latter will correspond with the Political Officer where trans-border Pathans under his jurisdiction are suspected.

CHAPTER VII.

LOCATION OF MAHSUD WAZIRS IN BRITISH TERRITORY.

Proposals made in 1861 and 1865 to settle the Mahsuds in British territory.

185. The question of establishing direct relations with the Mahsuds was first mooted in 1861 by Colonel Taylor, Commissioner of the Derajat, who besides granting the service of 25 sowars to the Mahsuds proposed to settle some members of the Shingi sub-division of the Bahlolzais on certain waste lands in the Tank ilaqa. The scheme seems to have hung fire for sometime until it was again taken up in 1865 by Major Graham, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, who asked for a grant of Rs. 5,000 to assist in carrying out the settlement of the Mahsuds in the plains. This sum was sanctioned, and an attempt was made to settle the Mahsuds in the Gomal Valley, but the scheme eventually came to nothing.

The views of Government in regard to the scheme of settling the Mahsuds in British territory.

186. The views of the Government regarding the question at the time are embodied in a despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 30, dated 30th April 1866, which runs as follows :—

"(1) I have perused with much interest the letter of Your Excellency's Government, No. 44 of the 8th March 1866, respecting a scheme for the location in British territory of some members of the Mahsud section of the Waziri tribe with a view to the tranquillisation of that part of the North-West Frontier which is inhabited by those people.

"(2) The experience of the last few years has abundantly shown that in a political, a military and a financial sense the preservation of the peace of the Trans-Indus Frontier in such a manner as to secure to our subjects permanent immunity from predatory incursions is an object of paramount importance to which the best efforts of your Government should be constantly directed. When I consider the expense incurred in expeditions for the repression and punishment of tribes concerned in such depredations—a course which we have frequently been compelled to adopt during the last 10 or 15 years—and their unsatisfactory results, I cannot but think that an experiment, even if, as you believe, of doubtful advantage, can be otherwise than a good application of the public money. The pacification of the border tribes by presevering in the exercise of humanizing influences is more likely to be permanent than their subjection by military force; and I always shall, therefore, receive with satisfaction such proposals as that now before me, recommended by your officers on the spot, which afford a reasonable prospect of rendering the people on the frontier line between our territories and Afghanistan peaceful and friendly neighbours."

187. The idea of settling the Mahsuds in British territory was again revived in 1877 in consequence of a petition which was made by a Shingi Malik, named Nabbi Khan, praying for the grant of certain waste lands in British territory. On this Major Macaulay submitted a proposal that Rs. 2,000 per annum should be allotted for five years (Rs. 10,000 in all) for the purchase of waste land near the Gomal Pass to be assigned for cultivation to certain selected families of the tribe on the condition that the land should remain the property of Government and that the Mahsuds in return for the concession should undertake the responsibility of the safety of the Gomal route through their hills. The object of this scheme was to bring the tribe into closer contact with the District Officers and to secure their permanent adhesion to the British Government by granting them land for cultivation upon favourable terms. The scheme and the proposals were sanctioned by Government in May 1877, and Major Macaulay was ordered to carry them out.

Proposals for the grant of lands to the Mahsuds made again in 1877 in connection with the pacification of the Gomal Pass.

188. Lands to the value of Rs. 4,000 were purchased in 1877, and the scheme was started soon after. A fair measure of success attended the experiment. Two hundred of the leading families of the three branches of the tribe, Alizais, Shaman Khels and Bahlolzais, came down from the hills to settle in British territory, and in the spring of 1878 about 3,618 acres of land were purchased at a cost of Rs. 4,000 in the villages of Uttar, Kalupurangi and Mohram. Before these additional lands had been made over to the tribe the burning of Tank on 1st January 1879 and the consequent rupture of friendly relations with the Mahsuds caused the scheme to remain in abeyance for more than two years. The lands in the meanwhile remained under the direct management of the Deputy Commissioner.

Temporary success of the scheme and its breaking down by the burning of Tank in January 1879.

189. In connection with the Tank raid just mentioned certain plots of land measuring 228 acres in the Gomal Valley belonging to Mianis and Ghorezais were confiscated by Government in consequence of the misconduct of their owners and became available for grants to the Mahsuds.

Acquisition of additional lands for the colonization scheme.

190. In 1882, after peace was made with the Mahsuds, Major Macaulay again put forward the question of the location of a Waziri Colony, with a view to re-establish friendly relations with the tribe. He submitted proposals showing the divisions, among the Mahsuds, of the land purchased and of that confiscated, and also asked that the revenue on the whole land amounting to Rs. 1,529-13-3 should be remitted for five years, and this question of revenue payment might be reconsidered after the termination of that period. These proposals received the sanction of Government and were carried into effect.

The scheme for the colonization of the Mahsuds in British territory resumed in 1882.

191. About this time in 1881 Major Macaulay excavated the channel known as Kot Azam. The object of digging this irrigation channel was to secure a supply from the Luni torrent which takes its head in the Zam Gomal for the irrigation of the Dera Ismail Khan Tahsil villages in the Gomal Takwara Circle and "to bring the waste Gandapur lands, known by the name of 'Nashkor Nihara' into cultivation by the Mahsuds in the the event of the Gandapurs failing to cultivate them themselves." As the Gandapur proprietors as a body declined to give any assistance in the work of constructing the Kot Azam channel and to contribute to its cost, the Deputy Commissioner made the necessary arrangements for the cultivation, keeping the management in his own hands. He in fact made all the arrangements for the construction of the channel and advanced the cost from different funds then at his disposal. When the scheme turned out successful, he allotted plots of lands to certain Gandapurs and other individuals in proportion to the amount of help each had contributed towards the construction of the Kot Azam Channel. In this arrangement 5,000 acres were reserved for the Mahsud Wazirs.

Acquisition of land of "Nashkor Nihara" for the Mahsud settlement.

192. In 1884, while sanctioning certain coercive measures against the Mahsuds, Government enquired whether any direct administrative measures had been in operation or were practicable for reclaiming the predatory Mahsud tribe with a view to diminish at once the amount of border crime and the necessity for coercion. In making this enquiry they referred to the Secretary of State's despatch No. 30, dated 30th April 1866, regarding the location in British territory of some members of the Mahsud tribe. Mr. Thorburn, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, submitted the required report before making over charge of the district.

Mr. Thorburn's views regarding the effect of settling the Mahsuds in British territory as a means of reclaiming the predatory Mahsuds.

An extract from his letter is given below, as it shows his views regarding the scheme of settling the Mahsuds and the past history of the scheme :—

"As I am about to make over charge to Cunningham, I shall not wait for Ommanney's return, but reply to Tupper's demi-official quoted by Ommanney in the accompanying copy of a demi-official dated 9th October 1884.

"2. Government sanctioned an outlay of Rs. 2,000 for five years for the purchase of lands in Tank whereon to form a Mahsud location. Rupees 4,000 of this money were drawn by Macaulay in 1878, and in all 3,514 acres assessed at Rs. 1,529-13-3 were bought. The disturbance of 1879 prevented any attempt at settling Mahsuds on the land so purchased until peace was made with them. Shortly before he went home in the spring of 1882, Macaulay made a sort of settlement through Azim Khan, Kundi, and the Government of India in its No. 667 E. P., dated 24th April 1882, remitted the revenue for five years.

"3. The arrangement I found working in the cold weather of 1882 and 1883 was as follows :—

"Some scores of Mahsud families squatted on the lands in sheds prepared for them by Macaulay for the six cold months, living for the time on advances made by a Bania on the security of Azim Khan, who recouped himself at harvest. The land was cultivated by Jats. The upshot was that the Mahsuds had by harvest time received in advance more than Azim Khan recovered at harvest. Considering the arrangement a failure, I tried leaving the Mahsuds to cultivate themselves as they liked, and refusing to advance them subsistence money. The result was no cultivation. I next tried the arrangement now in force, which will continue to run until next kharif (Sambat 1942) I leased most of the land to a farmer for Rs. 1,863 a year. I had to do this in order to clear off debts due to Azim Khan. I have at present about Rs. 800 in hand, which the Mahsuds will divide when they agree amongst themselves. The example of what good management by a farmer can do has fired the most intelligent Maliks with a desire to be once again entrusted with the management of the land. They have actually divided the land into three blocks, one for each main section; and yesterday their Maliks received in writing a promise long since verbally made that *bonâ fide* Mahsud cultivators would be exempted from begar and kamara, *i.e*, from impressed labour for the State and compulsory work on irrigation channels and head bunds.

"4. In addition to the above land, I, more than a year ago, in arranging for the partition and cultivation of a great waste tract of land belonging to the Gundapur tribe, called Niskor 18,833 acres in area, secured for the Mahsuds 5,000 acres. Individuals and families go sometimes and squat on their land for a little time and then return.

* * * * * *

"6. I regard the reclamation of the Mahsuds by settling them on Government lands bought for them in the Tank Tahsil as impracticable, because only a very small minority could be so settled at enormous cost. The Mahsuds are very numerous, and Tank is already well cultivated and populated. There is no room for Mahsuds. Suppose that by persistence, ten years hence, we should have succeeded at an outlay of Rs. 25,000 as purchase money and at a loss to the revenue of Rs. 7,000 per annum in settling one thousand Mahsud families on 10,000 acres of irrigated land, we shall not thereby tame the other 5,000 families in the tribe. The chief result will be that the 1,000 settled families will gradually become plainsmen like the settled Bhittannis near Tank, and through divergence of interests disconnect themselves with their hill brethren. Indirectly the settling of so many families would increase Mahsud tribal intercourse with us and induce many to come down and work as field labourers, &c., and thus some good would be done. On the whole, I do not think the gain would be worth the expenditure. In any case, I decidedly hold that until Mahsud families themselves cultivate the 3,500 acres in Tank already purchased for them, no more land should be bought for them. I may note that the land already purchased was not really a cheap bargain, as in the village bachh (distribution of assessment) it was assessed too highly, only 1,500 acres out of the 3,500 are annually cultivated.

Decision of Government on the receipt of Mr. Thorburn's report.

193. On the receipt of the report of Mr. Thorburn the Government came to the conclusion that, as little success had been achieved in the past and little could be expected to be attained in the future, because the Mahsud tribe was too numerous to be collectively affected by the location of a few families in British territory and because there was not sufficient land available for any large number of the tribe, it was clear that no important result could be looked for from inducing the Mahsuds to settle in British territory.

194. In 1887 after the lapse of the five years period for which the lands were granted to the Mahsuds rent free, Mr. Ogilvie, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, in requesting sanction to the revenue-free grant of the lands for a term of another five years, expressed his opinion that the idea of the settlement originally proposed with the object of making the Mahsuds responsible for the Gomal Pass in return for the grant must be abandoned and that the grant might be regarded as an emolument allowed to the tribe on condition of good behaviour and cultivation by the tribe. He added that the settlement of the Mahsuds in British territory was calculated to exercise indirectly a civilizing influence on the tribe, it interested the headmen and obliged them to take some trouble for themselves. It was also calculated to give them a taste for the peaceful pursuit of agriculture, while it gave many members of the tribe facilities for becoming acquainted with civilization and the benefits of a settled Government. The proposal was sanctioned and the lands were granted revenue free for another five years.

Grant of land rent free for another five years on condition of general good behaviour and the idea of making the tribe responsible for the pacification of the Gomal Pass in return for the lands abandoned.

195. After the termination of the period of five years in 1892, Mr. L. W. King, then Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, recommend the grant of the land rent free for another term of five years. In submitting this recommendation he reported that the tribe was showing a tendency towards civilization and a settled life. The revenue free grant was regarded by it to be in perpetuity and it was undesirable on political grounds to resume it at that stage; during the five years under review many changes had taken place owing to the opening of the Gomal Pass which helped the Mahsud tribe in maintaining close relations with the British Government. The local officers explained that the partial failure of the scheme up to that time was due to the fact that the lands had been regarded as the joint property of the whole tribe, and this acted as a bar to individual interest. They proposed a new system for the future under which they hoped to remedy the defects found to be existing in the scheme. The Government, in sanctioning the grant for a further period of five years, as proposed, ordered that the matter of properly developing the Mahsud settlement should be taken up by the local officers.

Grant of lands rent free for another five years. Good effects of the Mahsud settlement and the defects of the system and instructions to Local officers.

196. About this time the Amir of Kabul sent his Agents to the Darwesh Khels and Mahsud country to induce them to accept his rule and to break off relations with the British Government, which proceedings culminated in the commission of serious offences in the Gomal Pass and Zhob and in disturbing the minds of the Mahsuds. This state of things was followed by the despatch of a mission to Kabul under Sir Mortimer Durand to settle the Indo-Afghan boundary and lastly by the Waziristan Expedition which was sent to the Mahsud country to punish the tribe for the attack made on the Delimitation Commission at Wana on the 3rd of November 1894, in consequence of which the friendly relations established with the Mahsud tribes in previous years were temporarily suspended. By reason of the above circumstances no attempt was made by the local officers to develop the Mahsud settlement in accordance with the orders of the Punjab Government until after the termination of the Mahsud Expedition and the re-establishment of friendly relations with the tribe in 1895. Mr. R. I. Bruce, C.I.E., Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, took into his own hands the question of the settlement of the Mahsuds in the beginning of 1896 before be retired from service.

No attempt made to develop the Mahsud settlement until 1896.

197. Mr. Bruce found that one of the chief reasons for the scheme falling short of being a complete success was that most of the lands available for the Mahsud settlement had no permanent supply of water for them. These lands were irrigable by flood water only and consequently cost a great deal of labour in constructing dams to retain water in the fields. Under these circumstances these lands offered little attraction to the Mahsuds for settlement or cultivation.

Causes of the lands not attracting Mahsud settlers.

198. The question of securing a water-supply for the lands granted to the Mahsuds engaged the attention of Mr. Bruce. It was found that the Kot Azam channel which was excavated by Major Macaulay and has been referred to before carried a supply of perennial water to a Gandapur village called Rohri when the flood water was not running in the channel. The upper part of the channel from its head in the Luni stream to a place called Rata Kamar was excavated by Major Macaulay and brought into the channel called the "old Gomal" below Rata Kamar. The old Gomal channel carried the perennial water from certain springs which took their rise in a marsh called Mian Nur to the Rohri lands before the new channel was excavated. At the settlement it was

Removal of the defect and the acquisition of a share of perennial water for the Mahsud settlement.

found that the supply amounted to one jandar of water in quantity. After the excavation of the Kot Azam channel some springs came into existence in the part of the channel excavated by Major Macaulay or above Rata Kamar, which increased the quantity of the perennial water from one to nearly two jandars of water. Mr. Bruce contended that neither the Gandapurs nor the Rohri villagers were entitled to the increase of the water which was occasioned by the excavation of the Kot Azam channel by Major Macaulay. He accordingly called on the Gandapurs to surrender the increase in the water for use on the Government lands which were granted to the Mahsuds. The Gandapurs refused to admit any claim to the perennial water which was carried to their lands by the Kot Azam channel and the case at one time threatened to go to the Civil Courts, but at last after protracted negotiations they agreed to give one-third of the total supply of the perennial water subject, among other conditions, to the condition that Rs. 2,000 should be expended in improving and developing the springs which Mr. Bruce and all the zamindars considered could be done. The proprietors of the perennial Kot Azam water presented a formal petition surrendering one-third of the total supply of water by agreement. The petition which is an important document is quoted below in extenso :—

Translation of a petition, dated the 16th January 1896, presented by the proprietors of the Rohri Kalapani.

" As it has been represented by the officials of Government that the excavation of the Kot Azam channel has caused an increase in the supply of Rohri water (Kalapani), and the Government has consequently claimed a share in the same for cultivation of the Naskor Chak, for which a dispute is pending since long, we all the proprietors hereby willingly present the petition and agree to give one-third of the supply reaching ' Wandara ' on the following conditions :—

" (*a*) If owing to natural causes the supply be reduced to two jandars or less, the Government will not take its share, *viz.*, one-third, and the whole supply two jandars or less, whatever it may be at the time, will flow towards Rohri.

" (*b*) No lands of the Mahsud Chak to be leased to the tenants in the Rohri and Kot Zafar Baladasti villages, nor will they be allowed to settle in the Naskor lands.

" 2. As it is expected that the supply of Kalapani will further increase by opening up the springs in the Drig marshy lands, we request that the Government will be so liberal as to spend Rs. 2,000 and open them up."

199. Mr. Bruce having acquired a share in the Kot Azam (or as it is sometimes called the Rohri) perennial water for the Mahsud lands of Naskor Nihara, he set to work to prepare a scheme for distributing all the available land among individuals, so that they might take due interest in bringing these lands under cultivation and settle in British territory. The value of the Naskor lands in consequence of the acquisition of a share of perennial water having been secured for them increased considerably, and when the Mahsud Maliks came to appreciate how valuable these lands might become, many of them applied to Mr. Bruce for grant of lands.

Scheme for the colonisation of the Masuds and the lands available for the purpose.

The lands which were available for distribution were as follows :—

		Area.		*Revenue.*		
		Kanal.	Marla.	Rs.	A.	P.
(1)	Mahram ...	1,601	0	30	15	6
(2)	Kalu Parangi ...	4,919	4	226	7	3
(3)	Uttar ...	15,534	7	1,167	0	7
(4)	Gomal ...	644	14	43	11	0
(5)	Ghasha ...	277	1	16	3	0
(6)	Surang Zano ...	888	5	50	2	2
(7)	Naskor ...	44,937	4	Batai $\frac{3}{10}$ths.		
	Total ...	68,801	15			

The lands of Uttar and Naskor which alone have large areas required for the purpose of tribal colonisation measure 60,471 kanals and 11 marlas; the rest of the land consists of small plots. The plots Nos. (1)—(3) were purchased in 1877 for Rs. 4,000 and plots Nos. (4)—(6) were obtained by confiscation to Government in consequence of the misconduct of their owners at the time of the disturbance at Tank in 1879. Plot No. (7) was acquired by Major Macaulay in the way described already.

Decription of the lands available for the colonisation scheme.

200. All the above lands had been granted revenue-free for a term of five years from time to time since 1878.

The system of cultivation until the new scheme was introduced had been a modified form of direct management by the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, for the benefit of the Mahsud tribe. The following notes contain a description of the various plots as they were:—

(*a*) *Mahram*—Is a tail (paina) village; receives an insufficient supply of water for its irrigation from the Waran in proportion to its jama. The land is cultivated by plain tenants who pay two-fifths of the produce, which covers the proprietor's share and Government revenue.

(*b*) *Kulu Parangi*—Is a saroba village and receives irrigation from the Waran. The land is good and fertile and is cultivated by Bhittanni tenants who pay two-fifths of the produce, which is enjoyed by the sons of Nabbi Khan, Shingi.

(*c*) *Uttar.*—Total area is 22,495 kanals 10 marlas assessed at Rs. 1,167-0-7. Out of this Government holds proprietary rights in 15,509 kanals 2 marlas. In lieu of the cash revenue the Government receives a share of the produce in kind from one-third to half of the produce. The land is generally not of first rate quality, and a plot cultivated one year has to be allowed to remain fallow for two years. The area owned by Government is cultivated by Mahsud tenants, about 30 in number, who have lately settled on the land.

(*d*) *Gomal, Ghzsha and Surang Zano*—Are leased annually to the Mianis with the exception of a plot of land measuring 431 kanals 14 marlas which is given to a Mahsud who cultivates the land and enjoys the whole produce. The land is saroba but not good. A plot cultivated one year is allowed to remain fallow for two years. The tenants pay half of the produce in kind in lieu of the Government revenue. Malikana is paid in addition.

(*e*) *Naskor Nihara.*—The Government possesses in this plot the rights of "maurusi niawadar" (unredeemable mortgage with possession). The superior and inferior rights are owned by the Gandapur Tuman, who are entitled to one-tenth of the gross produce. One-twentieth is the right of Government as mortgagees and three-tenths as land revenue, but the latter is subject to a deduction of one-fourth, which goes to the Gandapur Chiefs as jagir. The land is of good quality, and the area available is extensive.

Out of the total area of 60,471 kanals and 11 marlas of Uttar and Naskor lands, about 56,000 kanals were culturable and available for distribution. The small plots were set aside for grants on account of good service and special claims, while all the culturable land in Uttar and Naskor was, after setting aside a small portion for Syads and Urmars, distributed roughly into three equal portions among the three main branches of the tribe. The detail of distribution proposed by Mr. Bruce and subsequently carried out is given in the statement which forms an Appendix I to this chapter.

Conditions of grant of lands to the Mahsuds in 1896.

201. The lands held by the Mahsuds are subject to good conduct of the individual grantees and their sections during the pleasure of Government.

The conditions proposed by Mr. Bruce which were afterwards sanctioned by Government for the grant of these lands which are now known by the name of the Mahsud colony are as follows:—

(1) The grants are not alienable by sale or mortgage.

(2) The land will be cultivated by Mahsud tenants who will reside on the lands in hamlets provided for them.

(3) The grantees to be held strictly responsible for the good conduct of their tenants.

(4) A tenant once engaged on the land who has cultivated the land for two harvests will not be ejected without the sanction of the Commissioner.

(5) The grantee will not take from the tenant a greater share than is received at present or what may be fixed with the sanction of the Commissioner.

(6) Each grantee will have on the average not less than one tenant for every 250 kanals or fraction thereof exceeding 100 kanals.

(7) The grantees will have not less than half the land granted brought under cultivation by Mahsud tenants within 12 months from the date of grant and the whole land within 18 months. Until the Mahsud tenants are employed the tenants now cultivating the land will continue to cultivate.

If any of the above conditions are not complied with by any grantee within the time allowed, his grant will be liable to be transferred to any other Malik or confiscated.

The Government granted the lands to the Mahsuds revenue free for another term of five years subject to the conditions proposed by Mr. Bruce, and in order to introduce the scheme, a taccavi advance of Rs 500 was sanctioned for the construction of the three hamlets required for the cultivators of the three main branches of the Mahsud tribe. An establishment consisting of a Darogha on Rs. 40, a Muharrir on Rs. 7 and a Karawa on Rs. 5 was sanctioned as a political charge for two years. It was ordered that in the following two years half the cost should be contributed by the Mahsuds and thereafter the whole cost of the establishment should be recovered from the Mahsuds by such small acreage due as may be necessary. The lands were distributed and made over to the Mahsud individuals in the end of 1896.

The three hamlets which were required have been constructed and the Mahsuds have to a limited extent commenced to cultivate the lands themselves now. They derive very large benefits from these lands. The Mahsud colony is under the charge of the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, and it is hoped that as Mr. Gee, the present Deputy Commissioner, takes a special interest in irrigation matters and in the colony, the colony will be carefully fostered and will prosper and develop in the future.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER 7

Showing detailed distribution of lands of the Mahsud Colony referred to paragraph 200.

	Sections.	Minor sections.	Names of 1st class Maliks.	Names of 2nd class Maliks.	Names of lower Maliks.
			Alizai.		
Alizai	Gidi Khel	Langar Khel ...	Badr Din ... 900 + 750	...	...
			Muhammad Afzal ... 900 + 750	Salehin ... 700	...
			...	Bala Hissar ... 500	...
		Kahi Khel ...	...	...	Ata Muhammad 400
		Barami Khel ...	...	...	Shale 400
		Batakai ...	...	...	Azmat 400
		Wazirgai ...	...	...	Gulzadin 400
		Faridai ...	...	...	Nazar Shah 400
		Total ...	...	...	5,000 + 1,500
	Pai Khel Dachi Khel.	Slim Khel ...	Badshah Khan ... 1,100 + 750	...	...
		Gari Khel ...	...	...	Tor and Azam 800
		Mal Khel ...	...	Tirsam .. 600	...
		Total ...	...	...	2,500 + 750
	Shumi Khel.	Michi Khel ...	Shah Salim ... 900 + 750	Aka Khel and Suleman 600	...
		Garerai ...	...	...	Zafar 500
		Shamerai ...	...	Khudrai ... 500	...
		Malik Dinai ...	...	...	Shahab-ud-din 400
		Total ...	...	...	2,900 + 750
	Shabi Khel	Astanai ...	Siman ... 1,200	Tor's son ... 600	...
		Pathanai ...	...	Shahzad ... 900	(Kaisar and Nilgar) 700
		Sultanai ...	...	Muhammad Ayaz ... 650	...
		Baromai ...	...	...	...
		Bibizai ...	...	Dinak ... 650	...
		Total ...	...	...	3,500 + 1,200
		GRAND TOTAL ...	...	...	13,900 + 4,200

Note.—Figures represent number of kanat of land—Antique in Naskor and Kalu Parangiand ordinary type in Uttar. The Uttar land, which is of inferior quality, has all been given to 1st class Maliks in addition to a share in Naskor or Kalu Parangi.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER 7

Showing detailed distribution of lands of the Mahsud Colony referred to in paragraph 200—continued.

Sections.	Minor sections.	Names of 1st class Maliks.	Names of 2nd class Maliks.	Names of lower Maliks.
		Shaman Khel.		
Shaman Khel: Chahar ...	Kasim Khel ...	Nasir T. ... 900 + 700	...	...
		Amin T. ... 800 + 700	...	...
		Fateh Roz S. ... 900 + 700	Badar Kai S. ... 700	...
		...	Alijan S. ... 700	...
	Zari Khel ...	...	Muhammad Yar S. ... 700	Yargul S. 500
	Haidrai ...	...	...	...
	Baraud Khel ...	...	Belak T. ... 700	...
Khali Khel	Badewai ...	Alah Bagh M. ... 900 + 700	...	...
		Ghazi T. ... 800	...	...
	Salimi Khel ...	...	Haji Muhammad T. ... 700	...
	Datorai ...	...	Etal T. ... 700	...
Gale Shahi	Dati Khel ...	Ali Khan T. ... 900 + 700	...	Khuaja Muhammad 500
	Mata Khel ...	...	...	(Parang and Khana Shah) 500
	Biri Khel ...	...	...	Pio Shah 500
Syad and Urmars.	Syad ...	Syad Akbar Shah ... 900 + 1,000	Sanobar Shah ... 600	...
		...	Dilband Shah ... 500	...
		...	Gulbagh Shah ... 500	...
	Urmar ...	...	Pir Hassan ... 500	...
	Total. Shaman Khel ...	...	...	11,400 + 4,200
	Total. Syads and Urmars	...	...	3,000 + 1,000
	GRAND TOTAL ...	...	...	14,400 + 5,200

Note.—Figures represent number of kanals of land—Antique in Naskor and Kalu Parangi and ordinary type in Uttar. The Uttar land, which is of inferior quality, has all been given to 1st class Maliks in addition to a share in Naskor or Kalu Parangi.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER 7

Showing detailed distribution of lands of the Mahsud Colony referred to in paragraph 200—concluded.

Sections.		Minor sections.	Names of 1st class Maliks.	Names of 2nd class Maliks.	Names of lower Maliks
			Bahlolzai.		
Bahlolnai.	Nana Khel	Haibat Khel ...	Mir Ajal ... 900 + 700	...	...
		Jalal Khel ...	...	Karim Khan ... 500	...
			...	Kargah ... 500	...
		Nekzam Khel ...	...	(Titi and Maiserah) ... 400	Muhammad Afzal and Daraz. 300
			...	...	Aman Shah and Zamani 300
		Addul Rahman Khel...	...	Guldad ... 500	...
			...	...	(Allahdad and Jaggar) 300
			...	...	(Shale and Gandapur) 300
			...	...	(Shahwardin and Hassan) 300
		Giga Khel ...	...	Muhammad Afzal ... 500	...
		Kikarai ...	...	...	Fatteh Khan 200
		Urmar Khel ...	...	...	Jakhar, Tawakal and Mamkai 300
	Aimal Khel	Nazar Khel ...	Brahmat Khan ... 900 + 700	Amir ... 550	...
			...	Shadai ... 550	...
		Malik Shai ...	...	Zobar ... 500	...
			...	Sur Kamand ... 500	...
		Abdulai ...	Boek ... 800 + 700	Musa ... 400	...
			Azim ... 800 + 700	...	...
	Shingis ...	Kharmach Khel ...	Fatteh Khan ... 850 + 700	Kajir Khan ... 600	Muhammad Ali 500
		Mami Khel ...	Ambri ... 850 + 700	Gulpir ... 600	...
			...	Muhammad Ali ... 600	Sanjar 400
		Uzbakai ...	...	...	...
		Boi Khel ...	...	Mamak ... 600	...
		Total ...	...	...	15,300 + 4,200
		GRAND TOTAL ...	...	...	43,600 + 10,600

	Kanals.	*Marlas.*	
Mahram land	1,601	0	To Gulbagh Shah and Pahlwan Khan, Urmars.
Kalu Parangi ...	4,919	4	One-half is given to Nabi Khan's son and the remaining half is distributed among Ambri, Gulpir, Muhammad Ali, Mami Khels, in the proportion of the Antique figures given in the above statement. They will have no land in Naskor.

Surang Zam ... Is given to Rahim Dad and Kala Khan in equal shares.

Ghasha ... Is given to Ghalmai, who has done service in Daur.

Gomal ... To Abdul Rahman Khels who have lands near it.

Note.—Figures represent number of kanals of land—Antique in Naskor and Kalu Parangi and ordinary type in Uttar. The Uttar land, which is of inferior quality, has all been given to 1st class Maliks in addition to a share in Naskor or Kalu Parangi.

APPENDIX B.

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each branch, &c.

[NOTE.—Divisions shown in the tabular statement will in some instances differ from those of the Geneological Tree. The former shows the divisions as they are known in these days, while the latter gives the divisions according to the exact line of descent. The differences are in sub-sections of (*a*) Gidi Khels, (*b*) Nana Khels.]

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength.	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
Alizai.	Manzai.	Gidi Khel.	Langar Khel...	Nikarrab Khel	Umar Khel ...	...	Badar Din, Muhammad Afzal, Salehin, Sari Band.	...	150	Kazha—11; Kot Langar Khel—15; Kanigoram—7; Surwak—8; Kachkai Chund Khel—7.	(1) Alizai constitutes one-third of the Mahsud tribe. (2) Manzai and Shabi Khels are each one-half of Alizai. (3) Out of 36 shares of Manzai— Gidi Khel ... 17 Pali Khel ... 17 Malik Dinai ... 2 (Shamerai is included in Pali Khel.) Total ... 36 (4) Out of 16 shares of Gidi Khel— Langar Khel ... 4 Kahi Khel ... 2 Bromi Khel ... 2 Batkai ... 2 Wazirgai ... 2 Pandai ... 2 Targadai ... 1 Chand Khel ... 1 Total ... 16 Abdul Khel and Nikarrab Khel are each half of Langar Khel.
					Zargar Khel ...	...	...	Utman ...	16	Borakai—10.	
					Ali Muhammad Khel.	...	...	Suskamand ...	100	Kacha Ali Muhammad Khel—40; Sarwak—10.	
					Shekh Barid Khel.	...	...	Sab Khan, Piyao	70	Mirgandkai—12; Sarwak—10; Borakai—10; Nagarwam—6.	
				Abdul Khel ...	Kotar Khel ...	Darya Khel...	Bala Hissar, Gulaim	...	100	Sarwak—20; Joki—14; Kot Langar Khel—40.	
						Tolab Khel ...	...	Shadamir ...	30	Walma—12.	
					Sulemanai ...	...	...	Nirla Khan ..	35	Kot Langar Khel—16.	
			Kahi Khel ...	...	...	...	Ata Muhammad ...	...	120	Shankai—60.	
			Barumi Khel...	Daulat Khel ...	...	...	Sanir ...	...	60	Dawat Shah—30.	
				Shah Muhammad Khel.	...	...	...	Aligul ...	16	Dawat Shah—10.	
				Pirat Khel ...	...	...	...	Shahleh ...	10	Dawat Shah—6.	

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each brauch, &c.—continued.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength.	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
		Gidi Khel—*concluded.*	Targadda ...	Ismail Khel.	...	...	Sahib Dad, Kaim Shah.	...	40	Malikmela—27.	(Wazirgai are said to be descendants of Lalo, Wazir, not really Mahsuds at all.)
				Aimal Khel	...	...	Foujdar ...	Pazal ...	30	Kachkai—15.	
				Wajji Khel ...	...	...	...	...	...		
			Batkai ...	...	...	...	Azmat ...	...	60	Lakawara—20; Khun Khela 20.	
			Wazirgai ...	Zamani ...	2/5	...	Galzadin ...	Ghaizal ...	80	Malikmela—15; Karrumma—25.	
				Makha Khel ...	3/5	...	Nezam, Amar Din...	Mani, Banrai ...	80	Amzarai—40; Karrumma—40; Killi Yargul—6; Kacha Makha Khel—5.	
			Chand Khel ...	Dali Khel ...	½	...	...	...	...		
				Jalal Khel ...	½						
			Faridai ...	Amzal Khel ...	½	...	Nazar Shah, Gul Amir	...	40	Katlai—15; Kachra—6.	
				Batti Khel ...	½	...	Zulfikar, Baghdad ...	Cheni, Mukhtar ...	40	Trai—25.	
				Salimi Khel	Salimi Khel...	Madar Khel	Badshah Khan ...	Lalgai ...	40	Tangi near Barwand—22	Pali Khel out of 5 shares— Dachi Khel ... 2 shares. Shami Khel ... 2 " Shamirai ... 1 share.
						Kissadin Khel	...	Ajabnir ...	40	Tangi—20.	
						Gajji Khel ...	...	Ayaz Shah ...	30	Tangi—8; Khaiserah—6.	Out of 42 shares of Dachi Khel— Salimi Khel ... 13 shares. Guri Khel ... 13 " Mali Khel ... 13 " Kangarai ... 3 "
						Nawar Khel...	...	Mamindar ...	30	Tangi—8; Khaiserah 3.	
					Darakai, Guri Khel.	Biland Khel...	Saidal ..	Khuni ...	35	Shikai—20.	
						Dhanni Khel	Azam ...	Dawar ...	35	Toratakka—20; Badar—1; Shikai—2.	
						Karmi Khel...	Tor ...	Liwand, Bandar Shah.	50	Wachaobo—20; Galli Panga—12; Inzar—8.	
continued.	*continued.*	Khel.	Khel.	...	...	...	Khan ...	Mirzai ...	40	Taghikai—18.	

Alizai—	Manzai—	Palli	Dachi	Shumi Khel...	Mal Khel ...	Hashim Khel ...	...	Tirsam ...	Ahmad, Lali ...	50	Patwela—17; Karramma—22.	Shamsi divide as follows:—
						Rajji Khel ...	...	Said Muhammad ...	Mir Shah Jehan ...	50	Patwela—18.	½ { Bahadur Khel 1/6; Garerai ... 1/6; Khan Khel ... 1/6 }
					...	...	...	Barkhurdar ...	Tor ...	30	Chargoli—18; Kachkai-6	
					Michi Khel ...	Muhammad Khel	...	Shah Salim ...	...	120	Khaiserah—3; Aspas—50; Tangi—1; Gurgora—4.	½ { Machi Khel... 1/10; Dhamai Khel 1/10; Abbas Khel 2/10; Para Khel ... 1/10 } (Probably in practice has smaller shares.)
						Alam Khan Khel	...	Khwaja Muhammad, Aka Khel, Suleman Musa, Ghazzo, Khamtuni	Haji Muhammad	250	Khaiserah—120; Lalezai—33.	
						Murgha ...	...	Aliband ...	Shaistam ...	15	Khaiserah—5; Lalezai—3; Tangi—1.	Murgha have included Kurre shes, &c., to well their numbers.
						Mamit Khel ...	...	Tawakal ...	Tirsam, Jim ...	60	Khaiserah—13; Gurgora—12; Salarai—15.	
					Garrerai ...	Shahab-ud-din Khel	1/7	Zafar, Isab, Kabul, Zarmast.	Senabat, Muhammad Akbar, Mithai.	90	Karramma—16; Sega—20; Ahmadwam—7.	
						Shakhai ...	1/7	...	...	...	...	
						Boi Khel ...	2/7	Dawagar, Mira Khel	Saudagar, Khojal	50	Karramma—11; Patwela—7; Ahmadwam—6.	
						Shabakai ...	1/7					
						Badnai ...	1/7	...	...	...	...	
						Marsai ...	1/7	Taku ...	Shakal, Gulzar ...	30	Tra—12; Patwela—12; Ahmadwam—1.	
					Bahadur Khel...	...	...	Awal Khan ...	Sher Ali, Mir Salam.	70	Patwela—10; Kharra—40;	
					Dhanni Khel ...	...	...	Bare Khan ...	Ahmad Khan and Zargai.	40	Khaiserah—20; Tangi—11; Dalakai—4.	
					Abas Khel ...	...	...	Magri, Mador ...	Imar, Mirab ..	100	Khaiserah—17 Torwam—1; Zindo—12; Noozwar—20; Gurgora—3; Tangi—30.	Magri, and Mador are of the 'Tor' party, Imar is of the 'Sur' party.
					Para Khel ...	...	...	Gulamir ...	Kotar Khan and Sanjrai.	50	Makai—14; Jallandar—12; Tangi—25; Kazganrai—5.	
					Khun Khel ...	...	...	Lale ...	...	20	Khurra—13; Nurgan—3.	

Staement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence with number of houses of each branch, &c.—continued.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength.	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
	Manzai—*concluded.*	Pali Khel, Shamerai.	Khojrai (or Pai Khel)	$\frac{7}{24}$	...	...	Akbar Shah ...	Shadi, Dor, and Banochi.	20	Gurgura—14.	Malikdinai are supposed to belong half to Gidi Khel and half to Pali Khel. They are divided tribally into 9 sub-sections, *viz.*, Umar Khel, Nana Khel, Bahadur Khel, Mona Khel, Azmat Khel, Sabai, Gul Mir Khel, Aimal Khel and Kada Khel. These are also divided territorially into four settlements as shown in column 4.
			Guri Khel ...	$\frac{7}{24}$	...	...	Khodrai, Zardas ...	...	30	Kazha—14; Gurgura—9.	
			Kharmach Khel	$\frac{7}{24}$	...	...	Zale Khan, Karim Khan, Loku.	...	60	Lada—16; Spishtin—16.	
			Tarkai ...	$\frac{3}{24}$	...	...	Pira Khel ...	...	30	Karramma—25.	
		Malikdinai.	Abdulwadani ...	...	...	...	Shawagar ...	Adam Khan ...	50	Abdulwadani—28.	Abdulwadani at head of Khwara includes sub-sections ... 6—9
			Shinkai ...	...	...	...	Bozak ...	...	60	Shatkai—30.	Shinkai in Nullah of ... 1—3 (one-half)
			Taghikai ...	...	...	...	Sahibgul ...	Rakhamdin ...	50	Taghikai—16.	Taghikai at head of Shinkai ... 1—3 (do.)
			Izhakachkai ...	...	...	...	Shahab ud-din ...	...	70	Izhakachkai—30.	Izhakachkai at head of Lalezar ... 4—5 It is uncertain which way the section ordinarily divides.
concluded.	Khel.	Astana.	Bangash Khel...	¼	...	...	Siman, Lal Gul ...	...	100	Dotoi—25; Landidak—14; Torwam—5.	Shabi Khel divides into 13 shares—
			Tajal Khel ...	¼	...	...	Shahzar, Shahnir ...	Ghausman ...	110	Jangara 22; Dotoi—12; Torwam—5.	Astana ... 4
			Umar Khel ...	¼	...	...	Alif Shah, Khurri ...	Said Amin ...	150	Jangara Nargis—80.	Baromai ... 2 Bibizai ... 2
			Khiddar Khel ...	¼	...	...	Mawal ...	...	110	Jangara Jadran—50; Dotoi—2.	Sultani ... 2 Pathanai ... 2
			Daudi Khel ...	(insignificant) ...	...		...	Abas and Jalak ...	40	Kharolai—2; Shaktoi—1.	Khan Khel ... 1

Alizai—	Shabi	Pathana.	Moghal Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Shahzad ...	...	100	Dotoi—20; Tangisar—20.
			Bacha Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Titai ...	Rahmdin ...	55	Dotoi—8; Tangi—12.
			Buryam Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Lal Khan ...	Azim, Jumazan ...	45	Sar Ragha—12; Zirwam—5; Torwam—2.
		Sultana.	Marobi ...	½	...	...	Kaisar ...	Faiz Gul ...	120	Raghza near Makin—60.
			Ahmad Khel ...	½	...	...	Nilgar ...	Daur ...	120	Babarshukh—30; Dotoi—30.
		Baremai.	Khiddi Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Muhammad Ayaz ...	...	25	Zirwam—12.
			Mirkha Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Khoedar Tarae ...	Zardad ...	60	Landidak—20; Zirwam—25
			Baya Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Kutal ...	Zindai, Dad Khan and Amir.	40	Mir Khan Khulla—13; Torwam—10.
		Bibizai.	Usman Khan Khel.	⅓	...	...	Dinak ...	...	40	Shuzza—20.
			Tarki Khel ...	⅓	...	...	Mustafa ...	...	20	Shuzza—12.
			Moghalgai ...	⅓	...	...	Zarpiyao, Matta, Bilyamin.	Mauli ...	60	Lawari-Asmal—30.
		Khan Khel.	Khan Khel ...	½	...	...	Khar ...	...	25	At Bábar—12.
			Khojkai ...	½	...	...	Pir ...	Watna, Waryám...	50	Mandara—13; near Kundiwam—20.

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each branch, &c.—continued.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength.	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another
... Khel.	... Khel.	Kasim Khel.	Shah Alam Khel.	Ghozi Khel ...	...	...	Nasír Khan T ...	Amín, Shahbáz ...	60	Bangiwala—40.	*N. B.*—For Sectional Division of Shahman Khel see separate statement attached at end of this appendix.
				Tori Khel ...	...	...	Shazád T ...	Miangul, Mamit ...	68	Banrot—4; Bangiwala—30.	
			Sharri Khel ...	Yar Muhammad Khel.	...	...	Badarkai S, Kamardin S, Kakar S.	Shah Mahmud ...	25	Danrot—15.	
				Mauli Khel ...	...	...	Fattehroz S, Alijan S.	...	30	Turanchena—17.	
			Bangal Khel ...	...	...	...	Masid T ...	Yargul, Azad ...	15	Maidan—7; Spinmela—3; Turanchena—2.	
			Nezam Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Aulia, Zardad ...	10	Tangi Badanzai—1; Ghowak—4; Bangiwala—3.	

Shaman	Chahar	Zarri Khel.	Iral Khel ...	...	...	...	Fakir S, Khoedad S	Serai, Ghalim ...	68	Barora—10; Tangi—15 Spiltoi—15; Lakri—3.
			Maddi Khel ...	...	...	...	Yargul S ...	Mir Akbar, Mirza	34	Patrorai 12; Spiltoi—7.
			Bijjal Khel ...	...	...	...	Abbas Khan S ...	Dead ...	13	Patrorai—7.
		Haidrai.	Wujji Khel ...	Mamal Khel ...	...	...	Muhammad Yar S...	Nazi, Azmat ...	40	Tarorai—10; Suleman-shai—7; Barorai—4.
				Numbri Khel ...	...	...	Saneh T ...	Alam Gul, Rahim-	40	Tarorai -4; Maidan—6; Tangi—2; Sulemanshai—8.
			Pir Muham-mad Khel.	Babri Khel ...	...	...	Ramzan S ...	...	25	Tarorai—10.
				Mali Khel ...	...	...	Zale Khan S ...	...	18	Tarorai—6.
		Malla Khel.	Sher Khan Khel	...	...	...	...	Shahid Khan, Zar-piyao T.	16	Kach Ali Khan—2; Gho-wak—7; Bangiwala—3.
			Koi Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Mamindar, Mirdad, Libakh.	15	Bangiwala—2; Ghowak—7.

Note.—The letters after each Malik's name show the local division to which they belong.

T—those living along the Shi Tati and in Maidan. | S—those living in Shahur.

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each branch, &c.—continued.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
Khel—*concluded.*	Chahar Khel *concld.*	Barand Khel.	Garri Khel ...	Ali Khan Khel	...	...	Belak T, Zarpiyao T	Guldad ...	30	Ahmadwam—6; Maidan—14.	
				Shomai ...	...	...	Lal Gul T, Mauladad T.	Shawal ...	25	Maidan—10.	
			Tittar Khel ...	...	...	...	Hila T ...	Wazir, Abdulpiyao, Kalim.	30	Damkachkai—16; Ahmadwam—10.	
	Khalli Khel.	Baddiwai.	Mitha Khel ...	Mirgul Khel ...	...	...	Alabagh T ...	Ghazi ...	60	Maidan—30.	
				Mansari Khel ...	...	...	Azad T ...	...	12	Barora—10.	
				Mina Khel ...	...	...	...	Shahid Khan ...	25	Ghowak—5; Maidan—6.	
				Zakri Khel ...	...	...	...	Hiyat Khan ...	30	Ghowak—15.	
				Mirwas Khel ...	...	...	...	Khangul ...	7	Ghowak—3; Barora—3.	
				Garwaz Khel ...	...	...	...	Haji Khan ...	12	Barora—7.	
				Wochak Khel ...	...	...	...	Jamal, Shahnir ...	40	Barora—15.	
			Dotarai ...	...	...	...	Etal T, Fazalmir T	...	40	Ghowak—18; Maidan—10	
		Ali Khel.	Kemal Khel ...	...	...	...	Mir Alam T, Ghani Muhammad T.	...	12	Panrai—5.	
			Landi Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Shahzad ...	14	Ghowak—4; Kazha—4.	
		Salim Khel.	Aká Khel ...	...	...	...	Mastá Khan T ...	...	45	Sarki—22; Maidan—4.	
			Sarmashai ...	...	...	...	Namar S, Pasti S, Ghazo S.	...	50	Spiltoi—16; Danrot—7.	Namar 'Sur' Sarmashai.
			Saka Khel ...	...	...	...	Haji Muhammad T, Halal T.	...	30	Shuzza—12; Barwand—6.	Pasti 'Tor' Sarmashai.

Shaman	Galleshahi	Datti Khel.	Baba Khel ...	Mangi Khel ...	...	...	Ali KhanT, DaulatT, ShamdaiT, Saleh T	...	200	Zinda—30; Shnakon Killi—21; Tangi—40; Ghorlama—10; Ball Khel—50.
				Bakhti Khel ...	...	...	...	Khalil, Ghazni, Ghanim Shah and Kaim.	100	Meta Khel—20; Janatta—20; Ghorlama—15; Ashtani—13.
			Kaka Khel ...	...	...	...	Khuwaja MuhammadT, KarimT, Muhammad Yar T.	...	110	Raghza—40; Soipanga—8; Ghorlama—60.
			Kikhai ...	...	...	...	...	Id Akbar, Sawan, Amzun, Saital.	105	Shogai—50; Ragzai—40; Shobozi—6; Ghorlama—9.
		Matti Khel.	Tarki Khel ...	...	...	...	Parang T, Khana T, Nezam Din T.	...	30	Shakri—10.
			Marki Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Azam Shah, Zaman	80	Janatta—50.
		Birri Khel.	Isa Khel .	...	...	...	Piyao ShahT, KasabT	Gul Khan ...	21	Maidan—9.
			Aidal Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Aligai, Gul Azad	50	Zoki—7; Shahbazi—30.
	Badanzai.	Ghalib Khel.	Rahimdad Khel	...	...	...	Zarpiyao T ...	Fakir Shah ...	45	Pangai—8; Zangai—7; Ghowak—10.
			Maryam Khel ...	...	...	...	Newaz T ...	...	35	Ghowak—4; Karkani—3; Tangi—8.
			Jamal Khel ...	...	...	...	Fattah Roz T ...	Nur Muhammad...	30	Ghowak—11; Danrot—4; Zangi—2.
			Shodi Khel ...	...	...	...	Akbar Khan T ...	...	16	Lakatezha—8.
			Pahar Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Showaz Khan ...	25	Yali Kacha—10.
		Kasim Khel.	Darri Khel ...	...	...	...	Shadi T, Mir T and Wali Khan T.	...	30	Lakri—9; Zhoki—5; Danrot—2.
			Abdul Khel ...	...	...	...	Jani Khan T ...	Mir Janai ...	50	Wambarshatai—14; Sanda—4; Sharki—3.
		Tappi Khel.	Boyakai ...	...	...	...	...	...	12	Mangritwam—6.
			Usman Khel ...	...	...	...	Sadrawan T ...	Auli Shah ...	30	Sharki—5; Wazirgai—6; Ghowak—3; Pirkacha—4
			Isáb Khel ...	...	...	...	Adil Din T ...	...	40	Ghowak—9; Lakateza—6; Kazhakai—6.

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		Haibat Khel.	...	...	...	...	Mir Ajal, Bare Khan, Malang Khan.	...	60	Zaghbirwam—20.
			Sher Khel ...	$\frac{3}{7}$	...	...	...	...	55	Sarmanja Kach—34.
			Khawas Khel ...	$\frac{2}{7}$	...	...	...	...	18	Sardigula near Salimkai—10.
			Abbas Khel ...	$\frac{2}{7}$	...	...	Shorang Khan, Asi	...	80	Sarmanja Kach—40; Zaghuirwam—2.
		Jalal Khel.	Shami Khel ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	Karim Khan ..	...	100	Sarmanja—45.
			Shiraz Khel ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	Kargah ...	...	150	Sarmanja—80.
			Ali Khel ...	$\frac{1}{10}$ (separate)	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Rahman Khel.	Firdad Khel $\frac{1}{3}$	Sharbeg Khel ...	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	Alahdad, Shahzal ...	...	40	Zowara—20; Kachra Khulla (Spiltoi)—10.
				Nazi Khel ...	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	Jaggar ...	Libas ...	40	Kacha Sit—30.
				Malikdad Khel	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	Guldad, Talib ...	...	20	Sarkari—12.
				...	...	...	Mitha	...	25	Kachra Khulla—10.
			Rahimdad Khel $\frac{1}{3}$.	Shobak Khel ...	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	Shale, Shazal ...	...	20	Dargai—13; Ghabarai Khulla—10.
				Tagal Khel ...	$\frac{2}{9}$	...	...	Jambil, Band ...	20	Lal Khurra (Spiltoi)—10.
				Lali Khel ...	$\frac{2}{9}$	...	Nazar, Mitha ...	...	25	Lal Khurra—13.
zai	Khel.			Shomar Khel ...	$\frac{2}{9}$	...	Gandapur, Panai ...	...	14	Kazbghanra—9.

Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.

Bahlolzai divides into ten shares—

Nana Khel ...	...	3
Emal Khel ...	...	3
Shingi	...	3
Band Khel	...	1
Total	...	10

(2) Nana Khel divides into $7\frac{1}{2}$ parts—

Haibat Khel	...	1
Jalal Khel ...	...	1
Abdul Rehman Khel	...	1
Nekzan Khel	...	1
Giga Khel	...	1
Kikarai ...	...	1
Umar Khel ...	...	1
Urmar Khel	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Total	..	$7\frac{1}{2}$

(3) Emal Khel divides into three shares—

Malikshahi	...	1
Nazar Khel	...	1
Abdullai ...	...	1
Total	..	3

(4) Khoedadai and Bizodai is each half of Malikshahi.

(5) Aziz Khel and Kharmach Khel is each half of Nazar Khel.

Bahlol	Nana	Abdul	Karimdad Khel ½.	Zarmar Khel ...	...	...	Shahwardin ...	Mamindar ...	18	Kazhganra - 13 ; Barwand—9.
				Khoja Khel ...	...	...	Jangin ...	Maizar ...	30	Kazhghanra—9 ; Barwand—11.
			Mirdad Khel ½	Wali Khel ...	...	...	Mianji ...	...	35	Sarla—30.
				Sadda Khel ...	...	...	Dakkas ...	...	35	Sarla—30.
				Babat Khel ...	...	...	Hassan ...	...	18	Sarla—11.
		Nekzan Khel	Laddi Khel ...		...	...	Daraz, Aman Shah	...	30	Khaiserah—25.
			Batak Khel ...		...	...	Titi, Muhammad Afzal.	...	40	Khaiserah—20 ; Badar—3.
			Audak Khel ...	⅙	...	...	Maisera ...	...	40	Khaiserah—19 ; Badar—2 ; Barwand—1.
			Sher Ali Khel ...	⅙	...	...	...	Alam ...	20	Khaiserah—4 ; Barwand—6.
			Duran ...	⅙	...	...	Zamani ...	Makhmad ...	45	Khaiserah—2 ; Badar—7 ; Tordar—12.
			Pashan ...	⅙	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Gega Khel.	Sarmast Khel ...	½	...	...	Muhammad Afzal, Mianwali.	...	70	Badar—40.
			Sora Khel ...	...	...	...	Shahid Khan ...	...	70	Badar—35.
		Kekrai.	Manda Khel ...	⅓ (divided	half and half over Khaisara and in	those living in Shaktu.)	Maizar ...	...	30	Khaiserah - 20.
			Mir Khanai ...	⅓	...	...	Fatteh and Mamindar	...	70	Kha'serah—25 ; Badar—13 ; Darki—3.
			Ali Khanai ...	⅓	...	...	Khost and Didari ...	...	17	Khaiserah—13 ; Badar - 1
		Umar Khel.	Sherin Khel ½	Ahmad Khel ½	...	...	Foujdar ...	...	40	Makin - 11 ; Kot Umar Khel—18 ; Kotzangi—16 ; Chobi—8.
				Kasim Khel ½	...	...	Atamir ...	...	60	Kotzangi—35 ; Dattawala—4.
			Bakuk Khel ½	Durmur Khel ⅔ ...	...	...	Amin, Mamakki ...	Jumma Khan ...	65	Kotzangi—20 ; Dattawala—6.
				Nasir Khel ⅓ ...	...	...	Tawakal ...	...	40	Kotzangi—20 ; Dattawala—4.
		Urmar Khel.	...	...	...	...	Jakhar, Khawajabaz, Shahzada.	...	45	Khaiserah—25.

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud Tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each branch, &c.—continued.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
		Nazar Khel.	Aziz Khel $\frac{1}{2}$ ...	Fatteh Khel ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	Baramat Khan, Miran Makhmad, Karim, Harif.	Arib, Mador ...	150	Tangi Aimal Khel—68; Trikhun—15.	
				Manzar Khel ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	Samandar ...	Maman, Kadir Shah	80	Tangi Aimal Khel—68; Tangi Masti—20.	
			Kharmach Khel $\frac{1}{2}$	Banga Khel ...	$\frac{3}{10}$	...	Nikarrab ...	...	100	Tangi—40; Trikhun—16	
				Mami Khel ...			Amir Shadai ...	...	30	Tangi—12.	
				Hassan Khel ...	$\frac{3}{10}$	...	Aitwar, Ashik, Shawar Din.	...	40	Tangi Masti—40; Trikhun—2.	
				Zargar Khel ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	...	...	Malo ...	15	Tangi Emal Khel—9; Trikhun—2.	
				Khuni Khel ...	$\frac{3}{10}$	...	...	...	20	Tangi—12; Trikhun—4.	
			Bizodai $\frac{1}{3}$ ...	Shahbaz Khel...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	Zobar, Asal Khan, Akbar Khan.	...	40	Kotki—40.	
				Panji Khel ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	Saleh Din ...	...	10	Gandiri Khulla—6.	
				Mian Khel ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	Khatkai ...	...	16	Laswanda—9; Kotki—3; Gandiri Khulla—2.	
continued.	Khel.	shahi.		Bahlol Khel ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	Ahmad Khan ...	...	15	Gandiri Khulla—12.	

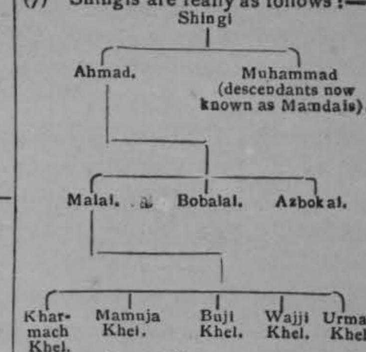
Bahlolzai— Emal Malik

Section	Sub-section	Clan	Share		Malik	Malik	Number	Location
Khoedadai ¼	Langar Khel	Divided locally ⅓ those living in Kanigoram and ⅔ those of Makin.			Arsala ...	...	10	Jangi Masti—9.
	Babal Khel				Hasanni, Shahbaz	...	12	Trikhun—12.
		...		...	...	Khissani ...	16	Tangi Masti—9.
	Shami Khel	...		...	...	Mukhtar ...	16	Tangi Masti—12.
		...		...	Surkmand, Ali Khan, Suleman.	...	20	Tangi Masti—14.
Lalli Khel ⅓ ..	Walidad Khel	Badar Khel ...		...	Boyak, Musa, Razamdin.	...	60	Makin—50.
		Zarrak Khel ...		...	...	Ghab Din ...	8	Manzaki—7.
		Mianir Khel ...		...	...	Saleh Shah ...	60	Pangai—40.
		Gula Khel ...		...	...	Aligai ...	70	Spinkamar—50.
		Katal Khel ...		...	...	Khoedad ...	50	Spinkamar—20.
	Torang Khel	Torang Khel ...		...	Khawaja Muhammad	...	80	Wachaobo—15; Mandech—15.
		Malang Khel ...		...	...	...	80	Rogha Tangi—15.
Shamak Khel ⅓	Azdi Khel ...	⅓		...	Azim ...	...	200	Zangai—110.
	Gunna Khel ...	⅙		...	Mamak ...	...	60	Kazhakai—15; Wachaobo—8; Zangai 15.
	Zarib Khel ...	⅓		...	Tarkai ...	...	160	Shinkai—40; Darra—20
Panj Pilara ⅓	Nasri Khel ...	⅕		...	Shawaldin ...	...	100	Mandatta—30; Manzakki—30.
	Abas Khel ...	⅕		...	Kamir ...	...	80	Rogha Tangi—40; Spin Kamar—12.
	Kemat Khel ...	⅕ (This section becoming nearly extinguished.)			Zafar ...	...	50	Rogha Tangi—15; Mandi wam—15 (in Shakto).
	Salimkai ...	⅕		...	Razzadin ...	...	60	Dashka—40 (part of Makin).
	Ghozikai ...	⅕		...	...	...	40	Dashka—25.

Abdullai.

(6) Lalli Khel, Shamak Khel and Panj Filara is each one-third of Abdullai.

(7) Shingis are really as follows :—



Division is as follows :—

Mamdai ⅕
Ahmad's descendants ⅘

The latter ⅘ is divided as follows:—

Bobalai $\frac{1}{7}$
Azbokai ¼ of $\frac{6}{7} = \frac{6}{28}$
Malai ¾ of $\frac{6}{7} = \frac{18}{28}$

Shares of all Shingis thus work out of 175 shares—

Mamdai	= 35	shares.
Bobalai	= 20	,,
Azbokai	= 30	,,
Kharmach Khel	= 18	,,
Mamuja Khel	= 18	,,
Buji Khel	= 18	,,
Wajji Khel	= 18	,,
Urmar Khel	= 18	
	175	,,

Statement showing the divisions and ramifications of the Mahsud tribe, names of Maliks, men of lesser note, fighting strength, residence, with number of houses of each branch, &c.—concluded.

First generation.	Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	Sixth generation.	Seventh generation.	Maliks.	Other men of note in the tribe.	Number of fighting strength.	Residence, with number of houses in each place shown in Antique figures.	Customary proportionate shares in profit and loss of section, sub-sections, relative to one another.
concluded.	gi.	Malai.	Kharmach Khel 1/5.	Shabak Khel ...	1/4	...	Fatteh Khan ...	...	10	Spinkai Raghza—4; Pashsha—4.	(8) Each of the 5 sections of Malai is one-fifth.
				Bash Khel ...	1/4	...	Kajir Khan, Bakhtamir, Muhammad Ali, Gul Khan, Brahim.	...	35	Kotki—21.	(9) Boi Khel and Karran is each half of Mamdai
				Boki Khel ...	1/4	...	Atamir ...	...	6	Kotkai—3.	Zaki Khel divide— Half residents of Makin including— Bahadur Khel 1/3 Niamir Khel 1/3 Kabul Khel 1/3
				Ali Khel ...	1/4						
			Mami Khel 1/5	Alik Khel ...	1/2	...	Ambri, Rahimdad, Gulpir, Zardak, Muhammad Ali, Gul dad Rahman.	Jang Bahadur ...	53	Kanrai—10; Ghorlama—14; Kotki—12.	Half residents of Mandesh and Spin Kamar, including— Torang Khel 1/3 Gula Khel 1/3 Kotal Khel 1/3
				Wali Khel ...	1/2						
			Biblai ...	...	...	...	Gul Muhammad, Makhmad.	...	40	Ginjal—18; Kotkai—3.	
			Bijji Khel 1/5 ...	...	...	...	Salelim, Khan Zaman, Nasajan.	Shahjehan, Ghanni	70	Ghorlama—8; Gaddadai—16; Mamin Toi—8; Kotki—4.	
			Wajji Khel 1/5 ...	...	...	...	Muhammad Ashraf, Khan Bahadur.	...	40	Kotki—18.	
			Urmar Khel 1/5 ..	...	...	...	Mian Hassan ...	...	40	Khaiserah—5; Kotki—5; Manitoi—20; Mazza—2	

Bahlolzai—Shin		Smal Khel ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Azbokkai.	Bakshai ...	...	...	...	Sanjar, Najib ...	Nazargul, Haji Khan.	25	Kallo Raghza—16; Shinkan—7; Manitoi—6.
		Laus Khel ...	...	...	...	...	Mir Afzal ...	8	Manitoi—5; Naski Jamaldin—1.
		Kamal Khel ...	...	...	...	Nezam ...	...	8	Manitoi—5; Narki—1.
	Bobalai.	Sanjar Khel ½...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Musa Khel ½ ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Jalal Khel ½ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Mamdai.	Karran (or Sobra Khel).	...	...	...	Kandhar, Baghdad, Mirza.	Ahmad Mir, Shahbaz.	140	Narawar—40; Narakai—16; Karra Khel—25.
		Boi Khel ...	...	...	...	Mamak, Ghaizal, Muhammad Yar, Libas, Momindar.	Shadanir ...	110	Murdár Algad—35; Todachina—22.
Band Khel.	Shakki Khel.	Or Usman Khel	...	...	...	Rahimdad ...	Poidar, Mawak, Walidad.	60	Toratezha—26; Darrara—1; Ghozmandi—8.
	Titti Khel.	...	...	...	...	Sadda Din ...	Rehman ...	60	Piyaza—10; Kotband Khel—22.
	Aikam Khel.	...	...	...	...	Kalandar Shah's son	Mehtar ..	80	Shuzi—12; Makin—12; Piyaza—10.
	Nasri Khel.	...	...	...	...	Balaki, Gul Said ...	...	60	Kot Band Khel—30.

Separate Statement of Shaman Khel Sub-divisions.

The main division is—

Tak Shaman Khels	3 shares.
Shahur Shaman Khels	1 share.

Tak Shaman Khels—

Khali Khel	2 shares.
Chahar Khel	2 "
Galeshai	2 "
Badinzai	1 share.

These are sub-divided as follows:—

- Khali Khel ...
  - $\frac{1}{8}$ Baddiwai ...
    - $\frac{1}{6}$ Mitu Khel ...
      - $\frac{1}{18}$ Mina Khel.
        - $\frac{1}{36}$ Mina Khel, $\frac{1}{36}$ Mirwas Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{18}$ Mansar Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{18}$ Zakar Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{6}$ Bahadar Khel ...
      - $\frac{1}{12}$ Mir Gul Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{12}$ Wachak Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{6}$ Datorai ...
      - $\frac{1}{12}$ Guldar Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{12}$ Rahman Khel.
  - $\frac{1}{2}$
    - $\frac{1}{4}$ Ali Khel
      - $\frac{1}{8}$ Landi Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{8}$ Kamal Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{4}$ Salemkai
      - $\frac{1}{8}$ Aka Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{8}$ Shaka Khel.

(*Note.*—Include in Baddiwai $\frac{1}{2}$ of Shwawan section.)

- Chahar Khel ...
  - $\frac{1}{4}$ Kasim Khel...
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Ghazi Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Tori Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Bangal Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Nazam Khel.
  - $\frac{1}{4}$ Brond Khel ...
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Ali Khan Khel, $\frac{1}{16}$ Shomai — living in Maidan (there are Garri Khels) = $\frac{3}{16}$ Garri Khel. $\frac{1}{16}$ Titar Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Garri Khel, $\frac{1}{16}$ Titar Khel — living in Bangiwala.
  - $\frac{1}{4}$ Haidarai ...
    - (*a*) Wajje Khel ...
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Namri Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Jamal Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Mamal Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Tal Khan Khel.
    - (*b*) Pir Muhammad Khel — All living in Shahur.
  - $\frac{1}{4}$ Zarri Khel ... — living entirely in Shahur.
    - (*a*) $\frac{1}{4}$ Iral Khel
    - (*b*) Bijal Khel
    - (*c*) Maddi Khel
    - (*d*) Mangar Khel

(*Note.*—Include in Chahar Khel $\frac{1}{2}$ of Shwawan section.)

Separate Statement of Shaman Khel Sub-divisions—continued.

(Add independent sub-section Malla Khel divided into two branches sharing equally :—

(*a*) Sher Khan Khel included under Brond Khel.

(*b*) Sipahi Khel " " Kasam Khel.

This division is not permanently settled, as Brond Khels claim to include whole of **Malla** Khels.)

- Galeshahi ...
  - ½ Datti Khel ...
    - ⅕ Baba Khel ...
    - ⅕ Kaka Khel ...
      - (Baba Khel and Kaka Khel together:) $\frac{1}{10}$ Mangi Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{10}$ Bakhti Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{10}$ Kikhai.
  - ¼ Berri Khel ...
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Isa Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Bura Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Sarak Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{16}$ Mira Khel.
  - ¼ Matta Khel ...
    - ⅛ Tarki Khel.
    - ⅛ Marki Khel.

(*Note.*—As regards residence of Galeshahi. Looking across the Shi Tak, from Jangal **on** the right bank, Jamatta and Ghurtama are two valleys running left and right up into the hills. *Balli Khal* is beyond Jamatta towards Jangra. Shogai is on the far (north-east) side of the hill crest beyond Jamatta and Ghurtama Valleys and overlooks Shaktu.)

- Badimzai ...
  - ½ Ghalab Khel
    - ⅛ Rahimdad Khel.
    - ⅛ Pahar Khel.
    - ⅛ Maryam Khel,
    - ⅛ Jamal Khel.
  - ¼ Kasim Khel ..
    - ⅛ Abdul Khel.
    - ⅛ Darri Khel.
  - ¼ Tapir Khel ...
    - ⅛ Usman Khel ...
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Usman Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{16}$ Boyakai.
    - ⅛ Isab Khel.

Separate Statement of Shaman Khel Sub-divisions—concluded.

Shahur Shaman Khels—

Chahar Khel	3 shares.
Khali Khel	1 share.
Tor Sarwashi	$\frac{1}{2}$ "

- Chahar Khel ...
  - $\frac{1}{3}$ Kasim Khel...
    - $\frac{2}{27}$ Maila Khel.
    - $\frac{2}{27}$ Yar Muhammad Khel.
    - $\frac{2}{27}$ Bangal Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{9}$ Brond Khel.
  - $\frac{1}{3}$ Zarri Khel ...
    - $\frac{1}{8}$ Madda Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{8}$ Iral Khel.
    - $\frac{1}{12}$ Bijal Khel.
  - $\frac{1}{3}$ Haidaris ...
    - $\frac{1}{15}$ Wajji Khel.
    - $\frac{4}{15}$ Pir Muhammad Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{15}$ Bakhti Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{15}$ Bobri Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{15}$ Malli Khel.
      - $\frac{1}{15}$ Piamdin Khel.
- Khali Khel ...
  - $\frac{1}{2}$ Shaka Khel.
  - $\frac{1}{2}$ Gur Sarwashai.

Tor Sarwashai— No important sub-divisions of whole Shaman Khel tribe; main shares are therefore—

Khali Khels of Tak	$\frac{3}{14}$
" " Shahur	$\frac{1}{6}$
Chahar Khels of Tak	$\frac{3}{14}$
" " Shahur	$\frac{1}{18}$
Galeshais (Tak)	$\frac{3}{14}$
Badimzais (Tak)	$\frac{3}{28}$
Tor Sarwashai, Shahur	$\frac{1}{36}$

APPENDIX C.

List of First Class Maliks and Sections they represent or have influence over, and their relations in service.

No.	Names of Maliks.	Sections.	Names of relations.
		ALIZAI.	
1	Badshah Khan ...	Dachi Khel, Shamerai and ½ Malik Dinai (Aize Kachkai).	Adam Khan and Ghulam Khan, brothers.
2	Shah Salim ...	Shumi Khel and ½ Malik Dinai (Taghikai).	Akbar Shah, Sherza and Alamun, brothers.
3	Badur Din ...	Gidi Khel and ½ Malik Dinai (Abdulwidana and Shatkai).	Nek Amal, brother, and Jang Bahadur, son.
4	Muhammad Afzal ...		
5	Siman ...	Shabi Khel ...	...
		SHAMAN KHELS.	
6	Nasir Khan ...	Chahar Khel ...	Shahbaz, cousin (Amin, sharer with Nasir).
7	Alah Bagh ...	Khali Khel ...	Marwat, Kakal (Ghazi Khan sharer with Alah Bagh).
8	Fateh Roz ...	Shahur Shaman Khel ...	Niwaz, his brother.
9	Ali Khan ...	Galeshai ...	...
10	Syad Akbar Shah ...	Badanzai, Syads and Urmars ...	Muzaffar Shah and Sanobar Shah brothers.
		BAHLOLZAI.	
11	Mir Ajal ...	Nana Khel ...	Jaras, his son.
12	Fateh Khan ...	Shingis ...	...
13	Ambri ...		
14	Bramat Khan ...	Nazar Khel and Malikshahi ...	Samwar, his brother.
15	Azim Khan ...	Abdullais ...	...
16	Boek ...		

APPENDIX D.

Classified List of Mahsud Maliks now in receipt of Maliki and Service Allowances.

[NOTE.—Names of sections in *Italics* under name of Maliks denote that such Malik's influence extends to whole of that section.]

Section.	Sub-section.	NAME OF Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
				ALIZAI.				
	Langar Khel.	Nikarab Khel. Nainar Khel—150	1. Badar Din *Gidi Khel.* 2. Muhammad Afzal *Gidi Khel.*	Salehin *Nikarab Khel.*	...	...	Saraiband ...	Two first class and one second class Maliks sufficiently represent Nikarab Khel, and Bala Hisar his section Abdul Khel.
		Zargar Khel—16 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Ali Muhammad Khel—100 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Sheikh Barid Khel—70 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Abdul Khel.						
		Kotar Khel—130 ..	...	Bala Hisar *Abdul Khel.*	...	Gulaim ...	...	
		Salimonai—35 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Not very important.
	Kahi Khel—120	...	...	...	Ata Muhammad *Kahi Khel.*	...	...	
Khel.	Barumi Khel.	Daulat Khel—60 ...	...	...	Shale *Barumi Khel.*	...	...	
		Sho Muhammad Khel—16 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Sho Muhammad Khel and Pirat Khel not very important.
		Pirat Khel—10 ...	...	...	...	...	...	

Gidi	Targadda.	Targadda—40 ...	...	...	...	Sahibdad or Kaim Shah.	...		
		Chund Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	...	Foujdar.		
	Batakai	Batakai—60 ...	...	...	Azmat *Batakai.*	...	...		
	Wazirgai.	Zamuni—80 ...	...	...	Gulzadin *Wazirgai.*	...	...		
		Makha Khel—80 ...	...	...	...	Nezam ...	Amar Din.		
	Faridai.	Amzal Khel—40 ...	...	...	Nazar Shah *Faridai.*	Gulamir ...	...		
		Bati Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	Zulfikar, Baghdad	...		
Pali Khel.	Dachi Khel.	**Salimi Khel.** Madda Khel—40 ...	Badshah Khan *Dachi Khel, &c.*	...	...	...	...	Badshah Khan, his relations in service and Bazgirs fully represent the Salimi Khel without taking men from each sub-section.	
		Kissadin Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	...	...		
		Gaji Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	...	...		
		Nawar Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	...	...		
		Guri Khel. Karmi Khel—50 ...	...	...	...	Tor *Guri Khel.*	...		
		Dhanni Khel—35 ...	...	...	...	Azam *Guri Khel.*	...		
		Biland Khel—35 ...	...	...	...	Saidal ...	...		
		Kanjerai—40 ...	...	...	...	...	Khan.		
		Dargai—30 ...	...	...	...	...	Barkhurdar.		
		Mal Khel. Hashim Khel—50 ...	...	...	Tirsam ...	...	...		
		Rajji Khel—50 ...	...	...	...	...	Said Muhammad.		

Section.	Sub-section.	NAME OF — Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
				ALIZAI—CONCLUDED.				
Pali Khel—concluded.	Shumi Khel.	**Michi Khel.** Muhammad Khel—**120** ...	Shah Salim *Shumi Khel, &c.*	...	...	...	...	
		Alam Khan Khel—**250** ...	...	Alibat Khan *Michi Khel Khaiserah.*	Aka Khel, Suleman.	Musa, Ghazo, Khamtuni.	...	
		Marghan—**15** ...	...	...	...	...	Aliband.	
		Momit Khel—**60** ...	...	...	...	...	Tawakal.	
		Garerai. Shahab-ud-din Khel—**90** ...	...	...	Zafar *Garerai.*	Isab, Kabul, Zarmast.	...	
		Boi Khel—**50** ...	...	...	...	Dawagar ...	Mira Khel.	
		Marsai—**30** ...	...	...	...	Taku ...	...	
		Bahadur Khel—70 ...	...	...	...	Awal Khan ...	...	
		Dhani Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	Bare Khan ...	...	
		Abas Khel—100 ...	...	...	...	Madaur, Magri ...	...	
		Para Khel—50 ...	...	...	...	...	Gulamir.	
		Khun Khel—20 ...	...	...	...	...	Lali.	
Shamerai ...		Hassan Khel—**30** ...	...	Khuddrai *Shamerai.*	...	Zordast ...	...	

Shabi Khel.	Malik Dinai	Guri Khel—60 ...	...	...	...	Zale Khan ...	Karim Khan, Loku.	
		Khujarai—20 ...	...	...	...	Akbar Shah ...	...	
		Tarkai—30 ...	...	...	...	...	Pira Khel.	
		Azhikachkai—70 ...	...	...	Shahab-ud-din *Malik Dinai.*	...	...	
		Taghikai—50 ...	...	...	...	Sahib Gul ...	...	
		Abdul Widana—50 ...	...	...	...	...	Shawagar.	
		Shatkai—60 ...	...	...	...	...	Bozak.	
	Astanai.	Bangash Khel—100 ...	Siman *Shabi Khel.*	...	...	Lal Gul ...	...	
		Tajal Khel—110 ...	...	...	Shahzur ...	Shahnir ...	...	
		Umar Khel—150 ...	...	...	...	Alif Shah, Khari	...	
		Khidar Khel—110 ...	...	...	Mawul ...	...	...	
		Daudi Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Bazgir will be taken from this branch.
	Pathanai.	Mughal Khel—100 ...	...	Shahzad *Pathanai.*	...	...	...	
		Bacha Khel—55 ...	...	...	Titi ...	...	...	
		Bariam Khel—45 ...	...	...	Lal Khan ...	...	...	
	Sultanai.	Marobi—120 ...	...	...	Kaisar ...	...	...	
		Ahmad Khel—120 ...	...	...	Nilgar ...	...	...	
	Baromai.	Khidi Khel—25 ...	...	Muhammad Ayaz *Baromai.*	...	...	...	
		Mirkha Khel—60 ...	...	...	Khoedar ..	...	Tarai.	
		Boya Khel—40 ...	...	...	Kutil ...	...	...	
	Bibizai.	Usman Khan Khel—40 ...	...	Dinak Khan *Bibizai.*	...	...	...	
		Tarki Khel—20 ...	...	...	Mustafa ...	...	...	
		Mughalgai—60 ...	...	...	...	Zar Piyao ...	Matta, Bilyamin.	
	Khan Khel.	Khan Khel—25 ...	...	...	...	Khar ...	...	
		Khojkai—50 ...	...	...	...	Pir ...	...	
		Total number of Maliks in each class ...	5	7	18	31	19	= 80

Section.	Sub-section.	NAME OF — Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
		SHAMAN KHEL.						
	Kasim Khel.	**Shah Alam Khel.** Ghozi Khel—60 ...	Nasir / *Shaman Khel Maidan.*	...	...	...	...	
		Tori Khel—68 ...	...	...	...	Shahzad ...	...	
		Shari Khel. Yar Muhammad Khel—25 ...	...	Badarkai ...	...	Kamardin, Kakar	...	
		Mauli Khel—30 ...	Fateh Roz / *Shahur Shaman Khel.*	Ali Jan ...	...	...	...	
		Bangal Khel—15 ...	...	...	...	Masid ...	...	
		Nezam Khel—10 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.
	Zari Khel.	Iral Khel—68 ...	...	...	...	Fakir ...	Khoedad.	
		Madi Khel—34 ...	...	...	Yargul ...	...	Mira Khel.	
		Bijal Khel—13 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Haidrai.	**Wujji Khel.** Mamal Khel—40 ...	...	Muhammad Yar / *Haidrai.*	...	...	...	
		Nambri Khel—40 ...	...	...	Saneh ...	...	...	
		Pir Muhammad Khel. Babri Khel—25 ...	...	...	...	Ramzan ...	...	
Khel.		Mali Khel—18 ...	...	...	...	...	Zale Khan.	

Chahar	Mala Khel.	Sher Khan Khel—16 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant. Bazgirs will be taken.
		Kohi Khel—15 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
	Barand Khel.	Gari Khel. Ali Khan Khel—30 ...	...	Belak *Barand Khel.*	Zarpias ...	...	...	
		Shomai—25 ...	...	...	...	Lal Gul, Mauladad	...	
		Titar Khel—30 ...	...	...	Hila ...	...	...	
Khalli Khel.	Badiwai.	Mirgul Khel—60 ...	Alah Bagh *Khalli Khel.*	...	...	...	...	
		Mansari Khel—12 ...	...	...	...	Azad ...	...	Small branches. Will contribute towards Bazgirs.
		Mina Khel—25 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Zakri Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Mirwas Khel—7 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Garwaz Khel—12 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Wuchak Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Ali Khel.	Kemal Khel—12 ...	...	...	Mir Alam, Ghani Muhammad.	...	...	
		Landi Khel—14 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Salimi Khel.	Aka Khel—45 ...	...	...	...	Masta Khan ...	...	
		Sarmashai—50 ...	...	...	...	Namar, Ghuzo ...	Pasti Khan.	
		Saka Khel—30 ...	...	Haji Muhammad *Salimi Khel and Ali Khel.*	...	Halal ...	Ism Shah and Gul Shamir.	
	Datorai	Datorai—40 ...	...	Etal *Datorai.*	...	...	Fazal Mir.	

NAME OF Section.	Sub-section.	Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
				SHAMAN KHEL—CONCLUDED.				
Galeshai.	Dati Khel.	**Baba Khel.**						
		Mangi Khel—200 ...	Ali Khan *Galeshai.*	...	...	Daulat ...	Shamdai, Saleh.	
		Bakhti Khel—100 ...	...	...	...	...	...	No man of any importance. Bazgirs will be taken from it.
		Kaka Khel—110 ...	...	...	Khuaja Muhammad *Kaka Khel and Kikhai.*	Karim, Muhammad Yar.	...	
		Kikhai—105 ...	...	...	...	...	...	No man of any importance. Bazgirs will be taken from it.
	Mata Khel.	Tarki Khel—30 ...	...	...	Farang *Ma'a Khel.* Khana Shah *Mata Khel.*	Nezamdin ...	...	
		Marki Khel—80 ...	...	...	...	...	...	No man of any importance. Bazgirs] will be taken from it.
	Biri Khel	Biri Khel—71 ...	...	...	Piyao Shah *Biri Khel.*	Kasab ...	...	

Badanzai.	Ghalib Khel.	Rahimdad Khel—45 ...	...	...	Zarpiyao ...	...	...	
		Mariyam Khel—35 ...	...	...	...	...	Nawaz.	
		Jamal Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	...	Fateh Roz.	
		Shodi Khel—16 ...	...	...	...	Akbar Khan ...	...	
		Pahar Khel—25 ...	...	...	...	...	...	No man of any importance. Bázgirs will be taken from it.
	Kasim Khel.	Dari Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	Shadi Khan ...	Mir, Wali Khan.	
		Abdul Khel—50 ...	...	...	...	Jani Khan ...	...	
	Tapi Khel.	Boyakai—12 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.
		Usman Khel—30 ...	...	...	...	Sadrawan ...	...	
		Isab Khel—40 ...	...	...	Adil Din ...	...	...	
Syads and Urmars.*		Syads ...	Syad Akbar Shah *Badanzai, Syads and Urmars.*	Dilband Shah, Gulbagh Shah.	Jamal Shah ...	Mahbub Shah, Salim Shah, Zarim Shah, Mir Sarwar Shah, Mubarak Shah.	...	
		Urmar ...	...	...	Pir Hassan *Urmar.*	Pahlwan, Ashik, Sahibdad.	...	
		Total ...	5	8	14	31	11	= 69

* Urmars divided into 4 sections and 6 shares—

(1) Bekai ... ... = 3 shares.
(2) Jaranai (including Malatam) ... ... = 1 share.
(3) Khar Minjan ... ... = 1 „
(4) Khikanai ... ... = 1 „

Syads are divided into certain branches, each of which for various purposes is identified with one of the Urmar sections :—

Manji Khel, included with Khikanai and Malakan.
Padshah Khel, included with Kharmijan.
Mian Khel, (Mian Pirwali), Jaranai.
Mian Khel (Khwaja Musa), Khikanai.
Ghali (Khwaja Musa), Bekai.

Classified List of Mahsud Maliks now in receipt of Maliki and Service Allowances—continued.

Section.	Sub-section.	NAME OF — Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
				BAHLOLZAI.				
	Haibat Khel.	Momin Khel—60 ...	Mir Ajal *Nana Khel.*	...	Bara Khan, Malang Khan.	...	...	
		Toib Khel—55 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Bazgirs will be taken.
		Khawas Khel—18 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Abas Khel—80 ...	...	...	...	Shoran, Asi ...	...	
	Jalal Khel.	Shamsi Khel—100 ...	...	Karim Khan *Jalal Khel.* Kargha *Jalal Khel.*	...	...	...	Their Bazgirs will be taken from Sherdari Khel.
		Sherdari Khel—150 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Nekzan Khel.	Batak Khel—40 ...	...	Tite *Nekzan Khel.*	Muhammad Afzal	...	...	
		Audak Khel—40 ...	...	Maiserah *Nekzan Khel.*	...	...	...	
		Laddi Khel—30 ...	...	...	Daraz Khan ...	Aman Shah ...	...	
		Dur Khel—45 ...	...	...	...	Zamani ...	...	
Khel.		Sher Ali Khel—20 ...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.

Nana								
Abdul Rahman Khel.	**Pirdad Khel.** Malikdad Khel—20	...	...	Guldad / *Abdul Rahman Khel.*	Talib ...	...	...	
	Sardari Khel—40	...	...	...	Allahdad ...	Shahzan ...	...	
	Nazi Khel—40	...	...	...	Jagar ...	...	...	
	Mir Khan Khel—25	...	...	...	...	Mitha ...	...	
	Rahimdad Khel.							
	Shobek Khel—20	...	...	...	Shale ...	Shahzal ...	...	
	Lali Khel—25	...	...	...	Nazar ...	Mitha ...	...	
	Shamir Khel—34	...	...	...	Gandapur ...	Pana ...	...	
	Karimdad Khel.							
	Khoja Khel- 30	...	...	...	Maizar ...	Jangin ...	...	
	Zarmar Khel—18	...	...	...	Shahwardin ...	Mamidar ...	...	
	Mirdad Khel.							
	Wali Khel—35	...	...	...	...	Mianji ...	...	
	Babat Khel—18	...	...	...	Hassan ...	...	...	
	Sada Khel—35	...	...	...	...	Dakkas ...	...	
Giga Khel.	Sarmast Khel—70	...	...	Muhammad Afzal	...	Mianwali ...	...	
	Sorak Khel—70	...	...	...	...	Shahid Khan ...	...	
Kikarai.	Chahar Khel—30	...	...	...	... Fateh Khan / *Kikarai.*	...	Maizar.	
	Khari Khel—70	...	...	...		Mamindar ..	...	
	Mamras Khel—17	...	...	...	...	Khost, Didari ...	...	
	Urmar Khel—45	...	...	...	Jakhar / *Urmar Khel.*	Khawajabaz, Shahzad.	...	
Urmar Khel.	Nazar Khel—40	...	...	...	Tawakal / *Umar Khel.*	...	...	
	Ahmad Khel—40	...	...	...	...	Foujdar ...	...	
	Kasim Khel—60	..	...	...	... Mamaki / *Umar Khel.*	...	Ata Mir.	
	Durmar Khel—65	...	...	...		Amin ...	...	

Classified List of Mahsud Maliks now in receipt of Maliki and Service Allowances—continued.

Section.	Sub-section.	NAME OF — Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.		First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	REMARKS.
					BAHLOLZAI—CONTINUED.				
	Nazar Khel.	**Aziz Khel.**		Bramat Khan					
		Fateh Khel—150	...	*Nazar Khel, &c.*	...	Miran ...	Makhmad, Harif	Karim.	
		Manzar Khel—80	...	...	...	...	Samandur ...	...	
		Kharmach Khel.							
		Banga Khel—100	...	...	...	Nikarab ...	...	...	
		Mami Khel—30	...	...	Amir, Shadai ...	...	...	...	
		Hassan Khel—40	...	...	...	...	Atwar ...	...	
		Zargar Khel—15	...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.
		Khuni Khel—20	...	...	...	Shahwardin ...	...	Ashik.	
	Malikshahi.	**Bizodai.**							
		Shahbaz Khel—40	...	...	Zobar ...	...	Asal Khan ...	Akbar Khan.	
		Panji Khel—10	..	...	...	...	Saleh Din ...	...	
		Mian Khel—16	...	...	...	Khat Kai ...	...	...	
		Bahlol Khel—15	...	...	...	...	Ahmad Khan ...	...	
		Khoedadai.							
		Kati Khel—10	...	...	...	...	Arsala ...	...	
		Mir Khan Khel—12	...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.
		Landi Khel—16	...	...	...	...	Shahbaz ...	Hassanni.	
		Babar Khel—16	...	...	...	...	...	...	Unimportant.
Khel.		Almar Khel—20	...	...	Surkamand ...	...	Ali Khan, Suleman	...	

Emal	Abdullai.	**Lali Khel.**						
		Walidad Khel—248 ...	Boek Khan *Abdullai.*	Musa Khan ...	...	Razam Din ...	...	
		Torang Khel—160 ...	...	...	...	Khuaja Muhammad.	...	
		Shamak Khel.						
		Azdi Khel—200 ...	Azim Khan. *Abdullai.*	...	...	...	...	
		Guna Khel—60 ...	...	...	...	Mamak ...	...	
		Zarib Khel—160 ...	...	...	Tarkai ...	...	...	
		Panj Pilara.						
		Nasri Khel—100 ...	...	...	...	Shahwaldin ...	...	
		Abas Khel—80 ...	...	...	...	Kamir ..	...	
		Kimat Khel—50 ...	...	...	Zafar ...	...	...	
		Salimkai—60 ...	...	...	...	Razadin ...	...	Will provide a Bazgir.
		Khojakai—40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	
Shingis.	Band Khel.	Shaki Khel—60 ...	...	...	Rahimdad ...	...	...	
		Nasri Khel—60 ...	...	...	Balaki ...	Gul Said ...	...	
		Aikam Khel—80 ...	...	...	...	...	Kalandar Shah.	
		Titi Khel—60 ...	...	...	...	...	Sada Din.	
	Malai.	**Kharmach Khel.**						
		Shobak Khel—10 ...	Fateh Khan *Shingis.*	...	...	..	...	
		Kamar Khel—35 ...	...	Kajir Khan ...	...	Bakhtamir, Muhammad Ali.	Gul Khan, Brahim Khan.	
		Ridan Khel—6 ...	...	...	...	Atamir Khan ...	...	
		Mami Khel—53 ...	Ambri *Shingis.*	Gulpir Muhammad Ali.	Rahimdad ...	...	Zardak, Guldad, Rehman.	
		Bibalai—40 ...	...	...	...	Gul Muhammad	Makhmad.	
		Biji Khel—70 ...	...	...	...	Nasajan, Salehin, Khan Zaman.	...	
		Wujji Khel—40 ...	...	...	...	Muhammad Ashrif, Khan Bahadar.	...	
		Urmar Khel—40 ...	...	...	Mian Hassan ...	...	...	

Name of — Section.	Name of — Sub-section.	Name of — Major and minor branches with the fighting strength in Antique type.	First Class Maliks.	Second Class Maliks.	Third Class Maliks.	Fourth Class Maliks.	Fifth Class Maliks.	Remarks.
				BAHLOLZAI—CONCLUDED.				
Shingis.	Uzbakai.	Bakhshai—**25** ...	...	...	Sanjar ...	...	...	
		Lawas Khel—**8** ...	...	...	...	Najib ...	...	
		Kamal Khel—**8** ...	...	...	...	Nezam ...	...	
	Mamdai.	Kara Khel—**140** ...	...	...	Kandhar ...	Baghdad, Miza...	...	
		Boi Khel—**110** ...	...	Mamak *B.i Khel.*	Ghaizal ...	Muhammad Yar	Libas, Minadar.	
		Total number of Maliks in each class ...	6	15	30	56	14	
		Grand Total ...	16	30	62	120	44	=272

APPENDIX E.

List showing the old and new distribution of Maliki and Service Allowances separately under each section and the number of men actually entertained in each case.

Name on sections and their fighting strength.		Old distribution of service and Maliki allowances.			Proposed allowances.		No. of men actually entertained in		Remarks.
		Service allowances.							
		Actual service.	Paper service or hill intelligence.	Maliki allowances.	Amount service allowances.	Amount Maliki allowances.	Old service.	New service.	
		ALIZAI.							
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
Gidi Khel—1,077.	Langar Khel—501 ...	30	40	40	130	100	4	8	Two first class Maliks belong to this sub-section. It is therefore necessary to increase the amount of actual service with a view to provide service for their relations.
	Kahi Khel—120 ...	10	...	10	10	10	1	1	
	Barumi Khel—86 ...	30	...	...	10	7	2	1	
	Targadai—40 ..	30	...	...	...	6	1	...	
	Chund Khel—30 ..	...	...	...	10	...	...	1	
	Batakai—60 ...	...	...	6	10	6	...	1	
	Wazirgai—160 ...	30	...	...	45	15	2	3	Is an important branch, but was inadvertently omitted from old service, having then only got one sowar and a footman.
	Faridai—80 ...	82	...	10	30	27	7	3	The amount of Maliki is increased to make up the loss by service.
	Total ...	212	40	66	245	171	17	18	
Dachi Khel—430.	Salimi Khel—140 ...	27	28	20	55	45	2	3	Badshah Khan, first class Malik, and his brothers, who will have responsible posts in service, belong to this sub-section.
	Guri Khel—120 ...	43	.	10	20	19	3	2	
	Kanjerai—40 ...	10	...	..	10	...	1	1	
	Dargai—30 ...	..	...	...	10	...	...	1	
	Mal Khel—100 ...	25	...	5	40	5	2	3	
	Total ...	105	28	35	135	69	8	10	
Shumi Khel—895.	Michi Khel—445 ...	25	45	25	140	92	1	10	Michi Khels of Khaiserah had in the former distribution a trifling share. As the Shahur route to Wana passes through Khaiserah, it is therefore necessary to allot them a reasonable share both in service and Maliki.
	Garerai—170 ...	20	...	5	50	39	1	5	Garerai is also an important branch and was like the Wazirgais neglected in the former distribution, in which they had only one sowar and Rs. 5 as Maliki.
	Shumi Khel—280 ..	20	...	5	40	22	2	4	
	Total ...	65	45	35	230	153	4	19	
Shamerai—140.	Guri Khel—60 ...	20	...	5	20	7	1	1	
	Hassan Khel—30 ...	47	...	5	10	20	3	1	
	Kanjerai—20 ...		...	5	...	5	...	...	
	Tarkai—30 ..	...	...	...	10	...	...	1	
	Total ...	67	...	15	40	32	4	3	
Malik	Dinai—230 ...	...		...	30	15	...	3	Is another important sub-section; had no share in the former allowances.
	Total ...	...	...	...	30	15	...	3	
Shabi Khel—1,270.	Astanai—510 ...	110	...	39	40	67	7	3	The amount of Maliki has been increased to make up the decrease in service.
	Pathanai—200 ...	60	...	20	30	32	5	3	Ditto.
	Sultanai—240 ...	55	...	19	20	24	4	2	Ditto.
	Baromai—125 ...	62	...	20	20	33	4	2	Ditto.
	Bibizai—120 ...	50	...	19	50	27	4	4	*Good service allowance to men who have rendered special services, but as they are not actually Maliks, it would not be expedient to make them such now. Some of them were already included in the list of Maliks and received allowances
	Khan Khel—75 ...	...	...	...	10	10	...	1	
	Total ...	337	...	117	170	193	24	15	
	Total Alizai—4,042 ..	786	113	268	850	633	57	68	
	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	50*	...	...	
	GRAND TOTAL ...	786	113	268	850	683	57	68	

List showing the old and proposed distribution of Maliki and Service Allowances separately under each section and the number of men actually entertained in each case—continued.

Name of sections and their fighting strength.		Old distribution of service and Maliki allowances: Service allowances: Actual service.	Old distribution of service and Maliki allowances: Service allowances: Paper service or hill intelligence.	Old distribution of service and Maliki allowances: Maliki allowances.	Proposed allowances: Amount service allowances.	Proposed allowances: Amount Maliki allowances.	No. of men actually entertained in: Old service.	No. of men actually entertained in: New service.	Remarks.
SHAMAN KHEL, SYADS AND URMARS.									
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
Chahar Khel—562.	Kasim Khel—208 ...	142	30	51	195	118	7	13	Two first class Maliks of Chahar Khels of Maidan and Shahur Shaman Khel belong to this branch; hence increase in service and Maliki.
	Zari Khel—115 ...	60	30	10	30	19	6	3	
	H idrai-123 ...	75	...	10	35	32	5	3	
	Barand Khel—85 ...	70	...	30	50	40	5	4	
	Mala Khel—31 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total ...	347	60	101	310	209	23	23	
Khali Khel—372.	Badiwai-181 ...	65	30	30	75	50	5	3	
	Ali Khel-26 ...	40	...	15	20	15	3	2	
	Salimkai—125 ...	100	...	30	60	41	7	5	
	Datorai—40 ...	30	...	10	30	15	2	2	
	Total ...	235	30	85	185	121	17	12	
Galeshai—591.	Baba Khel—300 ...	42	...	17	40	36	3	3	
	Kaka Khel—110 ...	3	...	12	20	15	3	2	
	Mat Khel—110 ...	30	...	12	20	19	3	2	
	Biri Khel—71 ...	20	...	12	20	13	1	1	
	Total ...	122	...	53	100	83	10	8	
Badanzai—341.	Ghalib Khel—181 ...	60	...	10	20	18	3	1	
	Kasim Khel—80 ...	20	...	5	10	14	1	1	
	Tappi Khel—30 ...	...	...	5	10	13	...	1	
	Total ...	80	...	20	40	45	4	3	
Syads and Urmars.	Syads ...	...	158	10	45	128	...	2	
	Urmars ...	10	25	...	20	24	1	2	
	Total ...	10	183	10	65	152	1	4	
	Total Shaman Khels, Syads and Urmars—1,866...	794	273	269	700	610	55	50	
	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	*Good service allowance to men who have rendered special services, but as they are not actually Maliks, it would not be expedient to make them such now. Some of them were already included in the list of Maliks and received allowances.
	Grand Total ...	794	273	269	700	660	55	50	

List showing the old and new distribution of Maliki and Service Allowances separately under each section and the number of men actually entertained in each case—concluded.

Name of sections and their fighting strength.		Old distribution of service and Maliki allowances. Service allowances. Actual service.	Old distribution: Service allowances. Paper service or hill intelligence	Old distribution: Maliki allowances.	Proposed allowances: Amount service allowances.	Proposed allowances: Amount Maliki allowances.	No. of men actually entertained in: Old service.	No. of men actually entertained in: New service.	Remarks.
	BAHLOLZAI								
		Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs			
				20	70	55	4	6	
Nana Khel—1,485.	Haibat Khel—213 ...	67½	...	12	40	3[illegible]	3	4	
	Jalal Khel—25[illegible] ...	40	2	17	85	47	2	8	
	Nekzan Khel—175 ...	30	2						Nekzan Khels of Khaiserah comparatively had very little in the former distribution; hence increase in service and Maliki.
	Abdul Rahman Khel—340	195	255	...	255	171	18	25	They had Rs. 255 in paper service, which is reckoned as Maliki. The amount of Maliki is reduced while that of service enhanced.
	Giga Khel—140 ...	35	10	12	40	30	3	4	
	Kikarai—117 ...	6¼	...	10	30	27	1	2	All these are important branches. Urmar Khels belong to Khaiserah chiefly.
	Urmar Khel—45 ...	...	...	..	10	20	...	1	
	Umar Khel 205 ...	21¼	...	10	40	25	1	4	
	Total ...	395	269	81	570	407	32	54	
Shingis—585.	Kharmach Khel—51 ...	80	32	28	55	62	6	4	Both are important branches of the Shingis. First class Maliks belong to these.
	Mami Khel—53 ...	90	10	28	105	65	...	7	
	Wuiji Khel—40 ...	30	...	5	10	10	2	1	
	Bii Khel—70 ..	45	...	5	20	15	2	2	
	Bibalai—40 ...	10		3	10	5	1	1	
	Urmar Khel—40 ...	20	...	3	10	7	1	1	
	Uzbakai 41 ...	40	...	6	20	18	3	2	
	Mamadai—250 ...	30	43	1[illegible]	55	56	2	4	
	Total ..	345	85	95	285	238	17	22	
Nazar Khel—435.	Aziz Khel—230 ...	70	10	20	65	59	4	5	
	Kharmach Khel—205 ...	45	25	20	105	57	3	5	
	Total ...	115	35	40	170	116	7	10	
Malikshahi—165.	Bizodai—81 ...	50	...	20	20	42	4	2	
	Khoedadai 84 ...	30	...	25	20	38	2	2	
	Total ...	80	..	45	40	80	6	4	
Abdullai—1,158.	Lali Khel—408 ...	25	8	15	30	50	2	2	
	Shamat Khel—420 ...	25	19	20	40	39	2	3	
	Panji Plara—330 ...	...	8	...	10	23	...	1	
	Total ...	50	35	35	80	112	4	6	
Band Khel—260 ...	...	41	20	...	60	28	3	4	
	Total ...	41	20	...	60	28	[illegible]	4	* Good service allowance to men who have rendered special services; but as they are not actually Maliks, it would not be expedient to make them such now. Some of them were already included in the list of Maliks and received allowances.
	Total Bahlolzais—4,088	1,026	444	296	1,205	981	69	100	
	Ditto	...	...	...	...	50*	...	...	
	Grand Total ...	1,026	444	296	1,205	1,031	69	100	
	Grand Total Mahsuds	2,606	830	833	2,755	2,374	181	218	

Note.—These actual intertribal proportions are largely affected by the extra shares always given to the Abdurrahman Khels. I have therefore calculated them, reducing the Abdurrahman Khel amounts to what they would be all to their tribal share of Nana Khels or rather to a reasonable amount all to their position and numbers. A proportion of 3 to 2 as compared with Haibat Khels will do as a basis.

APPENDIX F.

Statement showing the former distribution of Levies as reported with Commissioner's letter No. 186, dated 23rd May 1890, actual amount of present garrison and the proposed garrison.

Name of Posts.	Former distribution of Levies.						Actual present garrison.						Proposed garrison.						Remarks.
	Jamadars.	Daffadars.	Havildars.	Sowars.	Footmen.	Total.	Jamadars.	Daffadars.	Havildars.	Sowars.	Footmen.	Total.	Jamadars.	Daffadars.	Havildars.	Sowars.	Footmen.	Total.	
Nili Kach	2	2	1	8	16	29	...	2	3	12	17	34	...	1	2	2	25	30	
Spinkai Kach	1	1	1	10	21	34	1	...	...	4	10	15	...	1	2	...	15	18	
Kajuri Kach and Tower	2	2	1	25	19	49	2	2	2	4	30	50	1	1	2	...	35	39	
Tank	4	3	1	15	5	28	...	1	...	16	2	19	1	...	...	8	2	11	
Murtaza	4	2	2	10	10	28	...	1	2	10	14	27	...	1	1	8	10	20	
Gomal	1	1	1	5	5	13	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	
Jandola	...	...	3	...	30	33	2	...	3	...	30	35	2	...	1	4	20	27	
Zarmelan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	10	11	
Haidri Kach Tangi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	15	20	* Difference between the actual number of Levies employed to garrison the posts and those shown in the former distribution is due to the fact that some Levies were remitted service and got the allowance as paper service.
Sarwekai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	15	20	
Khaiserah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	15	20	
Total ...	14	11	10	73	106	214*	5	6	10	56	104	181*	7	7	12	28	163	217	

APPENDIX G.

No. 110, dated 19th March 1895.

From—R. I. BRUCE, Esquire, C.I.E., Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, and British Commissioner, Waziristan Delimitation Commission,

To—Lieutenant-General Sir WILLIAM LOCKHART, K.C.B., C.S.I., Commanding Waziristan Field Force.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Assistant Adjutant-General's letter No. 972 A.W., dated 23rd February 1895, conveying your instructions to me to prepare a complete narrative report of all political events throughout the punitive expedition in Waziristan with which I was connected from the date on which you took over charge of political affairs and the Field Force was formed, and also to bring to notice any special services rendered by officials, non-officials and tribal headmen during that time.

2. To arrive at a clear understanding on the line of policy which was decided on before the expedition took place and which was observed throughout, I think it well to go back a little and describe as briefly as possible the chain of important events connected with the Waziris which led up to it.

3. Subsequent to the opening of the Gomal Pass in 1889, satisfactory progress continued to be made in Waziri management, which obtained the official recognition of the Governments of India and the Punjab, up to the time of the crisis with the Amir when His Highness' Agents appeared on the scene at Gulkach and Wana in 1892. Intrigues then became rampant in the country, the Waziris—both Darwesh Khels and Mahsuds—got split up into factions, some siding with the Amir or his Agents and some with our Government. In consequence of the negotiations which arose between Government and the Amir, the Frontier Civil Officers, who with the assistance (badraggas) of Waziri Maliks had been in the habit of moving about with small escorts north of the Gomal and in other tracts in Waziristan, were forbidden to do so. The tribesmen came to know of this, which intensified the difficulties of the situation. The robbers saw in this their opportunity for increased gains and the discontented for airing their grievances, and resorted to their usual methods of plunder and murderous outrages. The tract north of Khajuri Kach and the Gomal offered them the safest and at the same time most remunerative field for their designs; in the first place, because they could plunder the Powindahs there without any interference on our part, which they did, and secured immense booty; and secondly because the Zhob border being open and very unprotected on that side, they found they could murder and plunder there more or less with impunity. Consequently the Mahsuds and Darwesh Khels, chiefly of Shakai, committed many serious murderous outrages in Zhob, amongest others, murdering several sepoys and levies and carrying off their arms; and it was these outrages which led up to the present punitive expedition against the Mahsuds and Shakaiwals.

4. Towards end of 1892 I took up the first series of these offences for settlement. The Maliks of both tribes worked well. They recovered a number of breech-loading rifles and other property that had been plundered in Zhob, and brought in and made over into custody the persons accused of the more serious offences, but on the understanding that they should be tried by jirgas, and if found guilty, sentenced to fines only and not to substantive terms of imprisonment. Finally, after lengthy proceedings with the sanction of Government, fines amounting to Rs. 10,000 were inflicted on the Darwesh Khel accused persons and Rs. 9,000 on the Mahsuds. The amount of these fines was realized before the prisoners were released. The Darwesh Khel headmen distributed the amounts over the members of the sections to which the offenders belonged and levied accordingly. The Mahsud headmen paid the Mahsud fines themselves. Their Sillahdari and other personal allowances had been retained in deposit pending the settlement of these cases. I strongly urged on them that they should allow the offenders to be punished by imprisonment and to take their money which was due to them, which I would have paid to them down on the spot, but they represented that it would, under the nature of our arrangements in force for the control of bad characters, be subjecting their authority to a strain which it could not bear, and that they dared not do so. These pleas seemed reasonable, and were accepted.

5. This settlement did not, however, as it was hoped it might have done, check the outrages. They subsequently committed several serious crimes in Zhob, which culminated in the murder of Mr. Kelly and his Sherani sowar on 30th July 1893. Two murders were also committed within Punjab limits, one of a cavalry sowar in the Zam Pass near Jandola and another of four sepoys of 22nd Punjab Infantry near the Gweleri Kotal on the 20th February 1894.

I would note here that this was the first murder which had been committed in the Gomal Pass since it had been opened in 1889.

6. After this followed lengthy proceedings, into the details of which it is not necessary for me to enter here. Suffice it to say that in the case of the murder of Mr. Kelly suspicion fell on two notorious Abdurrahman Khel leaders, named Jambil and Karram; while three Abdullais, named Shahzar, Namdar and Nargai, adherents of Malik

Shahir, were accused of the murder of the cavalry sowar in the Zam. Certain Nekzan Khels and Shakaiwals were accused of the other offences committed in Zhob and the Gomal, and I continued to adopt such coercive measures as were at my command. Some 60 men, members of the tribal sections, to which the accused persons belonged, including some of their relations, were apprehended and put in jail and their convoys and cattle were seized.

Pressure was again brought to bear on the Mahsud Maliks; their allowances were held in deposit and the surrender of the accused persons was demanded at their hands. After protracted negotiations the complete jirga of the tribe brought the accused men into Dera Ismail Khan. Under instructions from Government, I then explained to the Maliks that the surrender of the men would only be accepted on the condition that they should be tried by jirga, and, in the event of being found guilty, they would be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, which in the case of Mr. Kelly's murder would not be less than seven years, and that fines alone could not be accepted as had hitherto been done. To this they demurred, urging the same pleas as in the former cases. For days the question was under discussion amongst them at Dera Ismail Khan, and at length finding the Government inexorable, they yielded to the strong pressure which was brought to bear on them, and surrendered the accused persons. They were tried by the tribal jirgas and found guilty, and were sentenced. Jambil and Karram for the murder of Mr. Kelly, to seven years' imprisonment each, and the three Abdullais for the murder of a cavalry sowar in the Zam Pass, each to two years' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 5,000, or in default to five years' further imprisonment. The minor cases were settled by fines or restoration of property stolen. Agreements were also taken from the Abdurrahman Khels and Nekzan Khels to send in certain hostages for their future good behaviour.

7. There was great excitement throughout the Mahsud country on the return of the Maliks. The Abdurrahman Khels, Garerais and other marauding factions, whose main source of livelihood is plunder, recognized that if they submitted tamely to this new yoke and admitted the authority of the Maliks to bring them in guilty of heinous offences and surrender them for imprisonment, or perhaps next time to be hanged, their occupation and livelihood would be gone. They therefore determined to resist it with all their strength. In this resolve they found allies in certain Maliks and factions who had continued bitterly discontented about inequalities which occurred in the distribution of the service allowances which had been made at Fort Sandeman in 1889, by which they had suffered, and on which account they were jealous of the other Maliks. As an instance of the latter, I may mention the name of Shahir, Abdullai. He was the real instigator of the murder of the cavalry sowar near Jandola, and the three men who had been sentenced for the crime were his adherents. The motive for the offence was discontent and jealousy about allowances, as he had received nothing in the Fort Sandeman distribution.

8 In these elements of disorder and discontent Mullah Powindah, who had hitherto been a man of no particular mark, saw, or thought he saw, his opportunity, and constituted himself the religious head of the malcontent factions who placed themselves under his leadership in opposition to the Maliks. The movement being put on religious grounds gave his followers the excuse they wanted, while it made it all the more difficult for the Maliks to contend against it. Their first efforts were devoted to trying to bring about the release of the five prisoners who had been sent to Peshawar Jail, and failing in this they became bolder and murdered three* Maliks out of those who had been most conspicuous in doing good and loyal service to Government in obtaining the surrender and conviction of the five men mentioned. Mirajal, Nana Khel Malik, and Baramad, Emal Khel, had also to leave the country, and others went about in peril of their lives.

* Karim Khan, Chaprai, Dawagar.

It is important to bear in mind that it was the Abdurrahman Khel faction that murdered Dawagar in retaliation for the action taken by him in regard to the imprisonment of Jambil and Karram, and the faction of Shahir, Abullai, murdered Malik Karim Khan and Chaprai, son of Malik Arsala, in revenge for the imprisonment of their three brethren.

9. The murder of these friendly Maliks was a most serious affair, and it was regarded as such by Government. It was the commencement of a stand-up contest between all elements of disorder and fanaticism in the country with the elements of order which were friendly and favourable to Government, and probably we have not seen the end of this struggle yet. On hearing of it the Punjab Government recommended that a punitive expedition should be undertaken to punish the offenders, to avenge the death of the Maliks, thus affording protection to those Maliks who had ranged themselves on the side of Government, so that the valuable and important precedent which we had introduced, with so much difficulty, of bringing home through them adequate punishment to individual offenders in serious cases such as murder and robbery, should not be destroyed.

10. The Government of India did not sanction the threat of a punitive expedition pointing out that it would interfere with the demarcating of the frontier which they were bound by obligations with the Amir to carry out, and asked that "Mr. Bruce should be instructed to continue his communications with the tribal jirgas, with the object of procuring, if possible, the punishment of the murderers of the Maliks by the tribes themselves, or their surrender to us for punishment." (*See* Government of India's letter No. 1913, dated 25th August 1894.)

Appendix A.

11. It may be appropriately noted here that the Nekzan Khels and other Khaiserahwals fully complied with the terms of the settlement made with them at Dera Ismail Khan. They returned the cattle they had plundered in Zhob, paid up any fines and compensation awarded against them, and sent in their hostages according to agreement (*see* my telegram No. 143, dated 26th September 1894, to Punjab). On the other hand, the Abdurrahman Khels failed to fulfil their agreements or furnish the hostages promised. I mention these facts as they bear on the course subsequently adopted in regard to these sections respectively.

12. Meantime the preliminaries for the delimitation of the frontier with the Amir were being pushed forward, and it was decided by Government that simultaneously with these a permanent garrison should be established in Wana to aid in the protection of the trade routes with Afghanistan and for the discharge of obligations devolving on us under the Durand Settlement with the Amir. Government further sanctioned a grant of a lakh of rupees per annum (amongst other objects) for—

(1) organization of a system of service allowances for the Darwesh Khels and Dauris on the Bannu-Tochi side, in order to secure, as far as possible, protection for the Dauris and the safety of the Tochi route;

(2) remedying certain inequalities which had been pointed out in the former Waziri services and placing them on an improved footing;

(3) the prevention of Waziri raiding in the Zhob Agency;

(4) obtaining reparation in charges outstanding against the Waziris for offences they had committed.

For the carrying out of these measures I was appointed British Commissioner, and provided with an escort of troops which was considered strong enough to suppress such opposition as any sections of the Waziris might be inclined to offer.

13. When the intentions of the Government to place a permanent garrison in Wana and protect the trade routes became known, the marauding factions recognized in this measure another serious blow to their being able to continue their plundering practices only second to that which would result should the Maliks' control over them be strengthened in the way contemplated.

Mullah Powindah continued to act as their leader, and the combined causes mentioned tended to increase his following to a formidable extent.

14. The Delimitation Commission left Tank on the 16th October 1894, but no overt act of hostility took place, nor were there any indications of serious mischief being brewing until after we had marched through Spin. At Spin a couple of thefts were committed in the camp at night. At Karab Kot letters were received by myself and Khan Bahadur Azim Khan from Mullah Powindah again pressing for the release of the Abdurrahman Khel and Abdullai prisoners, and insisting that troops should not be stationed at Wana, and that no interference should be exercised in the country, as Spin and Shakai were in Mahsud limits. I sent back a verbal reply by his messengers that I declined to have any communications with him except through the tribal Maliks.

On the 23rd October we marched from Spin to Karab Kot and halted there on the 24th, and on the 25th marched into Wana. During the nights shots were fired into camp, which from information given by Mahsud Maliks, who arrived in Wana on the 26th and 27th October, turned out to be the work of certain Garerais and Abdurrahman Khels instigated by Mullah Powindah. During the next few days the Maliks continued constantly to bring in alarming reports of the Mullah's designs and of collecting his followers with hostile intentions. On the 31st October messengers arrived from the Syads of Kanigoram saying that he had arrived there on the day before with a following of some 800 to 1,000 men, and contemplated coming on that day to Khaiserah in order to commit hostilities against the Commission camp at Wana. I telegraphed this information to Government. On the morning of the 1st November some of the Khaiserah Maliks came in and reported to me that the Mullah with his following had actually arrived at Torwam in Khaiserah. I communicated this to General Turner, and the troops remained accoutered and on the alert during the night. Messengers arrived on the 2nd November from the Mullah himself again pressing for the release of the prisoners and demanding assurance that Government will not occupy the Mahsud country, in which he included Spin and Shakai and all tracts up to the Gomal. To this I sent the same reply as before, declining to have any negotiations with him except through tribal representatives, and at the same time advised him to dismiss his following and return to his home.

At the same time, after consulting General Turner, I telegraphed to Government suggesting that he should be prepared to send a flying column of 1,500 to 1,800 men to Khaiserah and disperse the gathering by force. Events, however, developed themselves too quickly for anything to come of this suggestion. A few hours later other messengers arrived from the Maliks stating that the Mullah had then moved with his force (lashkar), now numbering some 2,000 men, from Torwam to near Inzar Kotal and contemplated attacking our camp. I also communicated this to General Turner. The next morning at 5-30 the attack was made on the camp, full details of which were given in the telegrams and the correspondence noted in the margin which it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate here.

General Turner's telegram No. 70 T. to Punjab Government.
My telegram No. 193 to Punjab Government.
My letter No. 113 C., dated 9th November 1894, with enclosure.

15. The Khaiserah and Shahur Maliks who were foremost in keeping me informed of the movements of Mullah Powindah and his following were—

Shah Salim, Michi Khel.
Alibat, ditto.
Muhammad Afzal, Nekzan Kkel.
Titi, ditto.
Maiserah, ditto.
Zamani, ditto.
Alam, ditto.
Aman Shah, ditto.
Mir Ajal, Haibat Khel.
Fattehroz, Shahur Shaman Khel.
Alijan, ditto.
Badarkai, ditto.
Momidar, ditto.
Badshah Khan, Manzai Alizai.
Adam Khan, ditto.

16. After the Wana attack the Government of India, in consideration of the fact that "the Mullah's act is disapproved of by the majority of the Maliks" and that they were friendly to Government, ordered that I should reopen negotiations through them which were to be continued on the basis of my former instructions (*see* telegram noted in the margin).

No. 43 C., dated 8th November 1894.—Appendix B.

17. The Maliks came into Wana, and from the information given by them from time to time it was ascertained that the leaders in the attack on Wana camp, excluding those killed in the engagement, were—

(1) Shahir, Abdullai.
(2) Tarkar, ditto.
(3) Mirbosh, ditto.
(4) Zarmi, ditto.
(5) Minak, ditto.
(6) Ghaizal, Shingi.
(7) Jaggar, Abdurrahman Khel.
(8) Mianji, ditto.
(9) Alah Dad, ditto.
(10) Pashakai, Shalu Khel.
(11) Karim Khan, ditto.
(12) Sambat, Garerai.
(13) Isab, ditto.
(14) Hazratnur, Langar Khel.
(15) Bara Khan, Faridai.
(16) Saleh Muhammad, Kureshi.
(17) Masid, Chahar Khel.
(18) Nawar, Khali Khel.

Mullah Powindah having placed the movement on religious grounds was enabled to obtain a few fanatical followers from amongst all sections, but the sections which were chiefly concerned in it were—

(1) among the Alizais, Shalu Khels of Jangra; Dotoi and Babarghar, Langar Khels of Langar Khel Kot; and Garerais of Patwela and Ladha near Maidan:

(2) amongst the Shaman Khels, Badanzais, Chahar Khels and Khalli Khels of Maidan; and Tangi and Guleshahis of Bara Tangi: and

(3) amongst the Bahlolzais, Band Khel and Umar Khel of Makin; Abdurrahman Khels of Spiltoi; and Badar and Kakarais of Shaktoi and Babarghar.

18. The terms as finally determined on by Government and which I was authorised to communicate to the Maliks were, that all the 18 leaders, whose names have already been given, should be surrendered as hostages; that Mullah Powindah be expelled from the Mahsud country until after the whole demarcation of the Afghan-Waziristan boundary was completed; and that every rifle, horse and rupee stolen from the camp on the night of the attack be restored, or Rs. 500 in cash for each rifle or horse not recovered be paid.

The Government of India noted that if "by 1st December there were no signs of submission, they would take other action to enforce them."

19. I accordingly opened negotiations for their fulfilment. The Maliks immediately started for the hills to try and carry them out. They then suggested that a force might advance into Khaiserah which would, they said, afford them the support necessary to enable them to enforce submission. No notice of the suggestion, however, was apparently taken, probably because Government considered that it might be looked upon as an act of aggression (*see* Punjab Government telegram No. 14 C., dated 3rd November 1894, and Foreign telegram No. 30 C., dated 6th idem).

Appendix C.

Mullah Powindah even then continued to maintain his hostile attitude, and I received another letter from him written in the same tone and to the same effect, bitterly vilify the Maliks, as in all his former communications, and I replied as before. A copy of its translation is attached for easy reference (Appendix D).

Appendix D.

The Maliks on their return to the hills consequently failed to dissuade the Mullah, and after several ineffectual attempts they sent in a deputation, begging that I should allow an influential jirga of the Darwesh Khels, Suleman Khels and Dotanis to return with them to the hills, which they said would strengthen their hands in dealing with the Mullah. The marginally noted Maliks were named by them and, under sanction of Government, I allowed them to accompany the deputation.

Mani Khan and Nazar Din, Isperkai Darwesh Khels.
Muhammad Akram Khan and Muhammad Afzal, Suleman Khels.
Ghulam Haidar Khan and Ahmad Khan, Dotanis.
Banocha, Gulsher and others, Zalli Khels, Dotanis and Darwesh Khels of Bannu District.

20. On the arrival of the jirga in Shakai they found Mullah Powindah already there with a large following, which they roughly estimated at 2,500 to 3,000 fighting men. He consented to consult with them in view of a settlement, but they urged it would be useless for them to enter into any negotiations until he dismissed his formidable hostile gathering. This he finally consented to do and, having dismissed all excepting a few hundred men, he met the jirga on the following day at Torwam. At length after long discussion he agreed to submit and co-operate with the Maliks in carrying out the terms. Consequently the tribal jirga, accompanied by two representatives from the Mullah, returned to Wana, where I interviewed them, and they asked that time might be given them to carry out the terms. I recommended that 13th December should be fixed within which they should be required to fulfil the terms, and this was agreed to by the Government. In intimating these proceedings to Government, I expressed the opinion that they are willing and able to carry out all the terms except the surrender of all the hostages, as I apprehended that even the combined influence of the Maliks and the Mullah might fail to bring in a few of the leading spirits, such as Jaggar and Shahir, who, I had ascertained, considered that they had committed themselves beyond all hope of pardon (*see* telegram No. 372, dated 2nd December 1894). After this there were many indications to show that all were working together in earnest, and that the terms would really be fulfilled. The Maliks succeeded in getting several of the hostages to come to Khaiserah, bringing with them Government rifles and horses. Abdurrahman Khels and some other sections sent deputations to me asking that they might be dealt with separately from the rest of the tribe, which I declined to do, as I reported to Government.

Appendix E.

On the 11th December another deputation arrived at Wana, stating that it was arranged that Mullah Powindah would arrive at Khaiserah on that day with hostages, arms, horses, &c., and begging that Khan Bahadur Azim Khan might be permitted to

return with them to assist them in re-assuring the hostages that it was not the intention of Government to treat them as criminals—of which they were very apprehensive—and also in collecting Government arms, horses and other property plundered. I accordingly, with Government sanction, permitted this, instructing them that they should return within the time fixed.

21. They returned on 13th, and represented that, although Mullah Powindah with eleven of the hostages demanded was present and had brought with them ten Government rifles and five horses, the Abdullais and Shahi Khels living in and about Makin, who were the principal offenders and had the largest share of the stolen property, although they had promised to come, had failed to appear, and that the others declined to come without them. They had also brought in sons and other relations of the remaining seven hostages who were themselves absent.

22. I telegraphed the full particulars to Government, who thereon decided to cease from prosecuting further attempts for a peaceful solution, and gave orders for the punitive expedition to enter the Mahsud country with a view of punishing the tribal sections who attacked the Wana camp or others who might be found in collusion with them, and to enforce compliance with the former terms. The political control was at the same time transferred to you directly under the Government of India.

23. In your letter under reply you only asked me for an account of the political events which occurred during the punitive expedition, but I venture to give this narrative in order to show that from the time of the opening of the Gomal Pass in 1889 up to the present (including the measures adopted in the expedition itself), a uniform and consistent policy has been pursued in regard to the Waziris which may prove useful, as it would not have been made clear if I had confined my remarks to events connected with the expedition alone.

24. The foundation on which this entire policy rests, and which is the same as that which has so successfully been pursued in Baluchistan, is support and encouragement to leading headmen who throw in their lot with and range themselves on the side of Government, the controlling through them of the marauding factions and bad characters, and the consequent maintenance of peace and order.

25. It would be a most unfortunate mistake to conclude from the fact of this punitive expedition having been determined on that this policy with regard to the Waziris has been a failure. But for the crisis with the Amir and the importance from an Imperial point of view of carrying out the demarcation without delay a punitive expedition might possibly have been avoided altogether. We should, of course, have had to be content not to force the running too much, but to continue to work perseveringly on the lines laid down at the time of the opening of the Gomal Pass and apply remedies where working experience had shown them to be necessary.

To prove that the policy has not been a failure, I think I need not go further than to refer—

First.—To the conduct of the majority of the Mahsud Maliks throughout. It was chiefly because the Mahsud Maliks had at the height of the crisis with the Amir asked for it that Government consented to occupy Jandola and Khajuri Kach with troops, which was carried out with very small forces and without a shot being fired. They had pointed out that this would strengthen their hands in the suppression of the serious crimes which were then being perpetrated.

Secondly.—To the unanimously friendly attitude of the Wana Ahmadzai Maliks on the recent occupation of Wana, Spin and Zarmelan which was carried out on their express invitation many times repeated.

These Maliks, both Mahsuds and Ahmadzais, besides being leading representative in the tribes, are representative of all that is best and most worthy of encouragement in the country and who have its best interests at heart.

26. The fact that there is a much larger proportion of marauding factions who mainly support themselves on plunder amongst the Mahsuds than among most of the border tribes naturally makes it more difficult to bring the policy to a successful issue; but if persevered in and reasonable support is afforded by the Government, there is no obstacle that cannot be overcome.

Not only is it in my opinion the best, most just and humane policy, but it is the only policy through which we can secure the objects Government profess to have in view, especially if we have no troops in the country.

Past experience on the frontier has proved that it would be useless to reckon on the punitive expedition being in itself a permanent cure for evils such as those existing amongst the Mahsuds. Were we to leave matters as they stood before the expedition without arranging for the future control of the elements of disorder, remedying the flaws in our service arrangements, and making the control of the Maliks more effective than it has

hitherto been, I venture to say in a few years we would drift into the same position, probably again calling for punitive military measures at heavy cost to Government. The permanent occupation of Wana is no doubt a powerful restraining factor, but more than that is required with a tribe like the Mahsuds.

27. There is a popular belief that the mass of the Mahsud tribe live by plunder, but this is quite an error. They are expert traders, and since the opening of the Gomal, this trade has immensely increased as proved by the octroi and trade returns of Tank, and they are diligent cultivators, of which we have recently seen abundant proof, but their valleys are confined, and the culturable area is too small to support the large numbers who would have to depend on it if they abstained from plundering altogether.

The number of individuals who do live almost entirly by plunder is a very small minority as compared to the whole tribe.

The Government of India in their despach to the Secretary of State have expressly accepted the conclusion that where we deprive such men of that means of livelihood, we must, in order to secure success of our policy, provide them with an alternative means, at all events, to use the words of the despach, "until they learn to live by peaceful means, such as agriculture, rearing stocks and trading."

28. To me it has been therefore a source of great anxiety throughout all my negotiations to satisfy myself how the friendly Maliks could be not only adequately protected, but also how they could be protected in such a way that their control and influence in the tribe should not be lessened, but should rather be strengthened. It was in view of this that I at first recommended that they should remove with their families, flocks, herds and belongings into British territory. These principles were approved of by the Government of India, who, in their telegram No. 185 C., dated 4th December 1894, laid down that "it was most desirable to prevent the punitive expedition from developing into one against whole tribes." On further consideration I came to the conclusion that it could not be carried out in this way successfully, especially as the Maliks were employed with me at Wana up to the last moment when the negotiations were broken off on the 13th December. Even had they not been so employed, it was a large order and difficult to be carried out, and would beside have failed in the main object of strengthening their influence and control in the tribe I therefore proposed as an alternative that the friendly Maliks should accompany the different columns within their own localities, rendering service to Government by pointing out persons, hamlets, &c., of the proscribed factions and individuals, assisting in carrying dâks, keeping communications open, providing safe escorts (badraggas) and guides, and procuring supplies and forage. Although you did not at first entirely concur in my view, you were kind enough to let the arrangement proposed by me stand (*see* telegrams on this subject marginally* noted—Appendix G.)

Appendix F.

Appendix G.

*British Commissioner, Waziristan Delimitation Commission, telegram No. 375 dated 2nd December 1894
Foreign telegram No. 185 C., dated 4th December 1894.
Commissioner's telegram No. 402, dated 5th December 1894.
General Lockhart's telegram No. 90 B. W., dated 6th December 1894.
Punjab telegram No. 50 C., dated 7th December 1894
Commissioner's telegram No. 436, dated 10th December 1894.
Punjab telegram No. 59 C., dated 10th December 1894.
Punjab telegram No. 60 C., dated 11th December 1894
Commissioner's telegram No. 441, dated 11th December 1894
Commissioner's telegram No. 442, dated 11th December 1894
Foreign telegram No. 223 C., dated 13th December 1894
Commissioner's telegram No. 447, dated 14th December 1894.
General Lockhart's telegram No. 221 A.W., dated 14th December 1894.
Commissioner's telegram No. 454, dated 15th December 1894.

29 In the arrangements for the advance of the different columns, I was deputed to accompany General Turner's column—the 1st Brigade.

I had shown all the correspondence that had taken place to General Turner, and it was decided to destroy the towers and hamlets of the Shabi Khels of Torwam, which was the rendezvous of the Mullah's forces before the attack on Wana. The Maliks of the other sections, residing in Khaiserah and Tangi, who had been friendly and had given valuable information as before stated, were informed that their hamlets and property would not be interfered with, provided no shots were fired on line of march or organised opposition offered while the camp was within their limits; that they should remain quietly in their houses and keep communications through the Gomal Pass and with the columns open and safe, and procure forage and supplies required. This they agreed to, and furnished hostages as security for their observance.

On the 18th December we marched from Wana *viâ* Tyarza Pass and encamped for two nights in the Khaiserah Valley, opposite to Torwam. Two fortified hamlets belonging to the Shabi Khels, which we found deserted, were completely destroyed by the troops, and the forage, grain and firewood, of which a large quantity was stored there, was appropriated for the use of the troops. The Khaiserah Maliks pointed out where their grain had been

buried. The Maliks had acted up to their engagements, and no shots were fired during the time we were there. The leading man of these Shabi Khel settlement is Karim Khan, one of the 18 men whose surrender had been demanded as hostages.

On the 20th December we marched over the Shorangi Kotal to Mano Chila within a few miles of Kanigoram. It was a difficult and trying march for camel carriage, and the last of the camels did not come into the camp until after 1 o'clock in the morning, and large quantities of Commissariat and other stores were dropped on the way. There was a certain amount of sniping on the road, I believe, by Shabi Khels of Torwam, Garerais and Abdurrahman Khels, but without causing much damage.

On the next day we marched to Kanigoram, encamping at Sala Ragha. During the first two nights there was a good deal of sniping into the camp; but after consultation with General Turner I made Baramad Khan, Emal Khel Malik, responsible for some of the hills to the north, and Badshah Khan and Shah Salim for the hills to the south, of the camp, after which sniping ceased.

30. Systematic arrangements were then undertaken for the punishment of the proscribed factions, for the carrying out of which flying columns were sent in different directions. Fortified towers and hamlets of the Garerais, Langar Khels and Faridais were completely destroyed, and forage and grain stored there was appropriated for the use of the troops. The owners of the hamlets were Sinabat, Isab, Hazrat Nur, Bara Khan and Ghaizal, leaders in the Wana attack, and whose names were amongst those of the hostages demanded.

On the 25th December I accompanied General Turner with a flying column to the Badar Valley. We bivouacked there for two nights in the hamlet of Muhammad Afzal, Gega Khel Malik, whose father, Dowagar, was one of the three Maliks who had been killed by the Abdurrahman Khels in connection with Mr. Kelly's murder, to which I have before alluded. The Abdulrahman Khels had carried off their families and flocks to Spiltoi, leaving a few men to look after the place, who on seeing us coming at distance set fire to a few houses which were stored with forage, but not much damage had been done before we reached the spot. The settlement consisted of fortified hamlets with some 30 or 40 houses and four towers, one of them belonging to Jambil, who had been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for the murder of Mr. Kelly. All of these, which were stocked with forage and grain, were completely destroyed, and forage and grain appropriated. The loss of the Abdurrahman Khels I estimated was not less than Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000, as the towers and houses were large and substantially built.

One large tower of the Nekzan Khels was also blown up as a punishment for their trying to save an Abdurrahman Khel house, as reported in my letter No. 224 C., dated 28th December 1894,— copy attached for ready reference (Appendix H).

Appendix H.

On the 2nd of January a strong flying column was sent to punish the Abdurrahman Khels of Spiltoi and others. This column was accompanied by Mr. Grant as Political Officer. They marched from Kanigoram over the Karawan Kotal to Ahmadwam in the Shinkai Valley. From the Kotal the column was split into two,—one force going direct the Shinkai Valley road through Lalezai and then by a circuitous route to camp at Ahmadwam, and the other proceeding *viâ* Karama to camp.

On the following day two strong detachments proceeded by different routes for the punishment of the Abdurrahman Khels in Spiltoi. On arriving at a village called Ghazhani, it was found that the Abdurrahman Khels have themselves set fire to the village on the approach of the troops, but the damage done was small, and the grass, &c., which had escaped the flames was collected and appropriated for the use of the troops. The village consisted of caves alone, so no further damage could be done to it Four towers in all belonging to the Abdurrahman Khels were blown up. Two were in the upper part of Spiltoi, at the place shown in the map as Mashak's caves; one of these belonged to Mashak himself, and the other to his nephew, Lawat. The two remaining towers were lower down the Spiltoi—one belonging to Jaggar, and the other to Rahimdad. These, it is said, were exceptionally fine towers, and both were completely destroyed. In addition to this a fifth incomplete tower that Jambil had commenced to build was also destroyed. Rest of the Abdurrahman Khel settlements consisted of caves, so no damage could be done to them.

A considerable loss was inflicted at Ahmadwam on the refractory Garerai section, on whose ground the column had its standing camp. The Garerais who live in the caves fled on the approach of the troops, burying their grain and other things which could not be carried away. The Maliks assisted in finding and pointing out the hidden stores which were dug out and the grain was carried away. Some swords and knives were also found buried and were confiscated. A large amount of grass and bhusa which was found stored in caves was also appropriated.

On the 6th the column moved to Bahadur Khel in the Wucha Khawera Valley. From there separate parties went out and completely destroyed four Langar Khel fortified villages.

The headman of these is Hazrat Nur, a man of some influence, who was one of the Mullah's most active leaders and who has since been surrendered as a hostage. These were all fine large villages, and their destruction was undoubtedly a very heavy punishment.

This completed the punishment of all the proscribed factions on the Kanigoram side.

31. The names of the Maliks who remained in attendance in our camp and accompanied the different flying columns are—

Shah Salim, Michi Khel.

Baramad Khan, Emal Khel.

Badshah Khan, Manzai Alizai.

Adam Khan, Manzai Alizai.

Muhammad Afzal, Gidi Khel.

Badar Din, Gidi Khel.

Muhammad Afzal, Gega Khel.

Sikandar, Gega Khel.

Syad Akbar Shah, Syad.

Pir Hassan, Urmar.

Alibat, Michi Khel.

Titi, Nekzan Khel.

Maiserah, Nekzan Khel.

Zamani, Nekzan Khel.

Aman Shah, Nekzan Khel.

32. On the 4th January we marched from Kanigoram *viá* Takzam, and joined your camp at Jandola on the 10th idem. From thence I accompanied you through the Shahur Valley and Tangi to Kundiwam. No punishment was inflicted on the hamlets in the Shahur Valley, as they had remained friendly and had not been generally implicated in the Mullah Powindah's attack on the Wana camp.

The Michi Khel settlement of Gurgara was destroyed while we were marching to Khaiserah Valley, by the 2nd Brigade. I regret this, as I considered them entitled to the same consideration as the rest of the Michi Khels who had been spared; but as I had spoken to Mr. King who was Political Officer with the 2nd Brigade and he demurred, I did not think it expedient to press the point.

33. As Messrs. King and Casson were appointed Political Officers with the 2nd and 3rd Brigades directly under your orders, and you have doubtless received reports from them separately, it is unnecessary for me to enter into detail of political events in connection with these brigades; suffice it to say that every section or faction that had been proscribed as detailed in the list I have given above, paragraph 17, were heavily punished by one column or the other. The Mahsuds themselves estimate the loss caused by destruction of towers and fortified hamlets, cattle and flocks carried off, grain and forage appropriated and destroyed, injury to cultivated fields, &c., at a lakh and-a-half of rupees, and from all I could ascertain I do not think the estimate is far wrong. When it is considered that all this was in addition to fines and other penalties imposed under the settlement, it will be seen that the punishment was a heavy one.

34. On the 19th I arrived with your camp at Kundiwam, where you had summoned the Mahsud tribal jirga to meet you.

On reaching Kundiwam, Cherai, one of the five suspects in the Gweleri outrage and other cases, who had absconded to Daur, was brought from there and was made over with the other four suspects* demanded by me, but whose surrender by the Maliks has been postponed until the return of Cherai from Daur. I sent all the five persons with the other hostages demanded for the Wana attack to Dera Ismail Khan, where the charges against them will be tried as soon as I return from the Tochi and have leisure to conduct the proceedings.

* Balu, Tirak, Gulaman, Badlai.

35. The following is the detail of recovery of the Government rifles and horses which were brought to me before reaching Kanigoram and at Kanigoram :—

		Rifles.	*Horses.*
18th December	...	1	1
19th "	...	2	...
20th "	...	2	1
21st "	...	8	1
22nd "	...	1	...
25th "	...	3	...
31st "	...	2	...
Total	...	19	3

One more rifle was brought after leaving Kanigoram, and six rifles and three horses were made over in the other columns which left 10 rifles and 10 horses still to be recovered under the new terms. Out of the 18 hostages demanded, Shahir was killed by the Maliks in revenge for the murdur of Karim Khan, and Arsala Khan's son, Chaprai, who had been killed for assisting us in bringing in and convicting the three Abdullai prisoners in the Zam murder case; Nawar and Masid were surrendered at Makin, and Saleh Muhammad, Kureshi, was brought in by Malik Shah Salim when we were marching to Kundiwam: this left 14 more hostages to be surrendered.

36. On the 21st a completely representative Mahsud jirga of al sections, except the Shabi Khels and Abdurrahman Khels, were present, and you communicated to them in a public darbar the Government terms, which included the restoration of the remaining stolen property, that is—

				Nos.
Government rifles	...	...	...	10
Horses	...	...	...	10
				Rs.
Commissariat money	...	...	...	2,000

and the surrender of the remaining 14 men demanded as hostages. In addition to this the Mahsuds were required to pay Rs. 12,828-9-3, which amount was said to be outstanding against them on account of fines and compensation in former cases, to surrender 50 breech-loading rifles, 200 matchlocks and 200 swords or knives, and to keep open the Shahur Valley route from Jandola to Wana *viâ* Khaiserah, Government having the option of establishing posts on it at any time they might desire to do so.

37. The Mahsuds were given to the 1st of March to comply with the terms announced by you on the 21st January, and you left me at Kundiwam to bring about their compliance while you yourself left for Wana on the 22nd idem.

38. After the terms were announced the jirga sat at Kundiwam for two or three days making a careful distribution of the cash and the arms demanded over the sections and sub-sections of the tribe.

In this distribution a separate share of Rs. 1,400 in cash and 9 breech-loaders was assesssed on the Abdurrahman Khels. Their reason for doing this was because most of the offences had been committed by the Abdurrahman Khels, who had reaped immense booty, while the Maliks had paid up their fines and taken their punishment on their own shoulders. The Abdurrahman Khels appealed to me against the distribution, but as I knew that what the Maliks urged was true and fair, I declined to interfere. The Maliks having made the distribution over the major sections returned to their homes with a view to make the distribution over the minor sub-sections and houses and concert arrangements for the speedy compliance with the terms. The condition which caused the chief difficulty was the giving up of 50 breech-loading rifles which you had yourself anticipated and intimated to Government in your telegram No. 545A. W.

Appendix T.

39. What appeared to me to be the matter of first importance was to secure the surrender of the hostages, especially the Abdurrahman Khels and Garerais. I therefore sent with the Maliks one Ghulam Muhammad Khan, a leading zamindar of the Tank Tahsil, who possesses some influence over the Abdurrahman Khels, to help in collecting and bringing the hostages in. This arrangement turned out successful, and on the 22nd January the first batch of hostages, namely, Mianji and Allahdad, Abdurrahman Khels, and Sinabat, Garerai, were brought in and made over, and on the 23rd they were followed by Isab, Garerai; seven others on

the 28th, namely, Jaggar, Abdurrahman Khel; Tarki, Abdullai; Hazrat Nur, Langar Khel; Bara Khan, Faredai; Pashakai and Karim Khan, Shabi Khels; and Ghaizal, Shingi, were all brought in. Badshah Khan and his brother Adam Khan and Shah Salim were especially active and useful in getting in these hostages, which gained your approval, as intimated in your telegram No. 639 A.W., dated 29th January 1895 (Appendix J).

Appendix J.

40. This left only three men, namely, Zarmi, Minak and Mirbosh, to be surrendered. But they had previously after Shahir had been killed by the Maliks left the Mahsud country, taking refuge with the Momit Khels,—see my telgram No. 479, dated 6th January 1895, to Deputy Commissioner, Bannu, who was requested to make enquiries and verify the information. At the earnest request of the Maliks I again telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner that he should direct the Madda Khels and Momit Khels to discontinue giving asylum to these three men, but they were not turned out until you went yourself to Sherrani, where they were brought in to you.

Appendix K.

41. I commenced the realization of the fine and arms from all sections as soon as the distribution over the hamlets and houses had been made. Subsequent to the announcement of the terms you had ordered that in addition to the general fine I should realize a separate fine of Rs. 2,000 from the Khaiserahwals for failing to protect the Commissariat supplies which were lost on the Shorangi Kotal during the march of the 1st Brigade to Kanigoram on the 20th December 1894. Thereupon I called in the Khaiserah Maliks and informed them of the fine, and had a fresh distribution of this amount made by jirga.

42. Many difficulties arose in the distribution and allotment of the different items imposed under the terms, as I intimated to you in my telegram No. 577, but they were successfully overcome by tribal jirgas constantly sitting in the camp under my supervision. I conducted all the arrangements for the realization of fines and arms through the Maliks and, if any of the individuals or factions refused to pay the share allotted to them by the Maliks, I summoned the individuals or the leading men of the faction, and having heard their objections made them pay as finally decided by jirgas, which were then appointed to settle all such disputes. While these realizations were going on, the telegraph line once between Wana and Kundiwam and again in the Shahur Valley was cut. I had very searching enquiries made about this, and had several men arrested and placed in custody, but as the offence could not be brought home to any individuals, I fined the Khaiserahwals and Shahur Shaman Khels Rs. 200 each. This money was also distributed over the houses in Khaiserah and of the Shahur Shaman Khels in the Shahur Valley and realized. By 25th February the Mahsuds had fulfilled all the terms as I reported in my telegrams Nos. 577, 582 and 605 (Appendix M).

Appendix L.

Appendix M.

43. They paid in Rs. 17,228-9-3 in cash which, besides Rs. 1,14,828-9-3 demanded in the terms announced on the 21st January, included Rs. 2,000 of the Shirangi Kotal fine and Rs. 400 for cutting the telegraph line inflicted after the announcement of the terms. All the arms demanded under the terms, including 50 breech-loaders, were recovered without my being obliged to have to resort to the alternative allowed in the correspondence received with your endorsement No. 356 B.W., dated 6th February, of accepting three muzzle-loaders in lieu of one breech-loader. Out of the remaining 10 rifles and 10 horses, which were demanded under the new terms, all the 10 rifles and 9 horses were restored, and Rs. 500 in lieu of the tenth horse was realized in cash.

Appendix N.

44. It may be noted here that the fine of Rs. 12,828-9-3 demanded under the term was inflicted in the cases decided up to 26th September 1894, on account of which Maliks had credited Rs. 9,897 before the Wana attack, from which amountsome items of compensation had been paid before the terms were announced; while, on the other hand, 58 cases in which the Mahsuds were accused, but had not been decided, were not included in the terms. When I found this out, I brought it to your notice in the correspondence noted in the margin, but I regret to say that the orders I solicited for their disposal were so long delayed owing to the lengthy correspondence and some misunderstandings that it became impossible for me to deal with all the cases, as I had originally intended by bringing conviction home to individual offenders, and I was compelled to adopt in the majority of the cases the alternative approved of by the Punjab Government of assessing moderate compensations and of paying the same out of the money credited by the Maliks before the Wana attack.

Appendix O.
Commissioner's telegram No. 509, dated 2nd February 1895.
Commissioner's telegram No. 553, dated 16th February 1895.
General Lockhart's telegram No. 879 A.W., dated 16th Feburary 1895.
Commissioner's No. 565, dated 17th February 1895.
Commissioner's No. 555, dated 19th February 1895.
Punjab's No. 215 F, dated 23rd February 1895.

45. The chief point now calling for consideration is the location of a small military force in the Mahsud country, at all events until the distribution of allowances and settlement of other questions pending decision is carried out and sanction given for a personal escort as I applied for. As soon as I learnt about the sudden withdrawal of the troops from the country, I made my representations in the marginally-noted correspondence (Appendix P). It appears the former proposal is eventually sanctioned, and a force has been stationed at Barwand until further orders but with regard to the latter proposal no definite decision has as yet been arrived at, the question turning, as I presume it does, on the future policy which the Government will adopt towards Waziristan, and which I have to deal with in the report which the Punjab Government has called for in connection with their future arrangements in their letter No. 86, dated 21st January, to the address of the Government of India, copy of which was received with your endorsement No. 343, dated 3rd February 1895, and which I hope to submit shortly.

Appendix P.
Commissioner's telegram No. 617, dated 5th March 1895.
Commissioner's telegram No. 628, dated 7th March 1895.
Punjab telegram No. 76 C., dated 7th March 1895.
Commissioner's telegram No. 642, dated 12th March 1895.

46. In conclusion, I have to bring to your notice special services rendered by officials non-officials and tribal headmen during the time of the punitive expedition.

Mr. Grant, Assistant Commissioner, Tank, was employed for a length of time directly under your own orders. While with me he did good work. He accompanied the flying columns to Baddar and Spiltoi, &c., as before mentioned, and I believe General Turner was much pleased with the assistance he gave.

My Superintendent, Mr. Ephrain Tej Bhan, in addition to his ordinary duties, was deputed under Government sanction to hold charge of Treasury, arrangements for supplies for the Civil Camp, reception and maintenance of jirgas, charge of badraggas, spies and levies for carrying dâks, &c. In addition to these duties he carried out my measures for surrender of hostages, realization of fines, settlement of disputes in connection with their distribution. In these and innumerable minor matters he worked indefatigably and rendered valuable service, which I think deserves the special recognition of Government.

I have noticed above the good work done by Ghulam Muhammad Khan of Tank in the bringing in of the hostages and squaring matters with the Abdurrahman Khels.

I have already given names of the leading Mahsud Maliks who worked with myself and Mr. Grant. The following is the complete list of the Mahsud Maliks who rendered good service during the expedition :—

Badshah Khan, Manzai Alizai.

Shah Salim, Michi Khel.

Baramad Khan, Emal Khel.

Nasir Khan, Shaman Khel.

Amin Khan, ditto.

Alah Bagh, ditto.

Gazi Khan, ditto.

Badar Din, Gidi Khel.

Muhammad Afzal, ditto.

Mir Ajal, Nana Khel Haibat Khel.

Adam Khan, Manzai Alizai.

Muhammad Afzal, Giga Khel.

Amir Khan, Emal Khel.

Alibat, Michi Khel.

Muhammad Afzal, Nekzan Khel.

Titi, ditto.

Zamani, ditto.

Maiserah, ditto.

Aman Shah. ditto.

Syad Gul Bagh Shah, Syad.

Syad Akbar Shah, ditto.

Pir Hassan, Urmar.	
Ambri,	Shingi.
Fatteh Khan,	ditto.
Gul Pir	ditto.
Kajir,	ditto.
Fatteh Roz, Shahur Shaman Khel.	
Badar Kai,	ditto.
Azim, Abdulai.	
Bock,	ditto.
Karim Khan, Jalal Khel.	
Kargah,	ditto.

Endorsement by the Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division.

No. 111 C., dated Datta Khel, 25th March 1895.

COPY of the foregoing forwarded to H. C. Fanshawe, Esquire, C.S., Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, for information.